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LANGSTON HUGHES

•

"DEMOCRACY" FOR THE WEST INDIES

GEORGE PADMORE

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HAITI AND AMERICA

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POLL TAX: SYMBOL OF OPPRESSION

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Twentieth Anniversary: Re-publication of "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," by Langston Hughes, which was first published in THE CRISIS for June, 1921

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Soc. Sci

College and School News

Formal commencement exercises will be held at **Morgan College** on June 9, when the address will be delivered by Bishop Alexander P. Shaw of the Baltimore area of the Methodist Church. There are 89 candidates for the Bachelor's degree.

Kelsey Pharr, II, has been appointed to the faculty of the Summer School of the Theatre, which will open at **Atlanta University** on June 9 for a 6-week session. The School of the Theatre, for the fifth successive year, will be directed by Miss Anne M. Cooke, who is also director of the Atlanta University Summer Theatre. Others on the staff are Owen Dodson of Spelman College, assistant director, and Thomas Pawley, director of dramatics at Lincoln University (Mo.).

The Arts and Crafts Workshop will again be held this year under the direction of Hale Woodruff.

Commencement exercises were held at **Gammon Theological Seminary,** May 18–20. The Baccalaureate Sermon was delivered by President Horace G. Smith, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill., while the Commencement address was made by Rev. Robert N. Brooks, D.D., Editor, *The Christian Advocate,* Central Edition, New Orleans, La.

The third annual meeting of the Association of Business Officers in Schools for Negroes was held at the **Bluefield State Teachers College,** May 8–10. The Association now in its third year has forty-seven educational institutions as its members.

The 50th Commencement of the **West Virginia State College** saw 120 young people receive degrees. The Baccalaureate sermon was delivered by President John Warren Davis on June 1. The Commencement speaker was Attorney Charles S. Houston, of Washington, D. C., on June 2.

The Seventh Annual Meeting of the National Association of Personnel Deans and Advisers of Men in Negro Schools was held April 24–26 at **Morehouse College.** The new President is Dean J. William Drew, Virginia Union University.

George M. Cohron, '15, manager of the Harlem Office of the Social Security Board, has been selected by the New York alumni to lead the Morehouse endowment drive. Special committees are also functioning in Chicago, Detroit, Cincinnati, Savannah, Cleveland, and other cities having an appreciable number of Morehouse graduates.

Rev. Cortez W. L. Bradshaw, assistant pastor of Berean Baptist Church, Chicago, Ill., delivered the annual Commencement address at **Western Seminary,** Kansas City, Mo., May 23, 1941.

Technical social work courses offering credit for diploma or Master of Social Work degree will be given by the **Atlanta University School of Social Work** during the summer session, June 9–July 18.

The annual school of Practical Methods conducted at **Wiley College** by the Board of Home Missions and Extension convened May 13–23. In

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charge was Dr. Edgar A. Love, Superintendent of the Department of Negro Work.

Main speaker at the 63rd annual commencement of **Shaw University** on June 3, in the Raleigh Memorial Auditorium, will be U. S. Representative Arthur W. Mitchell of Illinois. The Rev. Colbert H. Pearson will deliver the baccalaureate address on June 1. Rev. Pearson is pastor of the First Baptist Church, Englewood, N. J.

Dr. Buell H. Gallegher, president of Talladega College, and Allison Davis, staff member, Division of Child Development, University of Chicago, addressed the 75th Anniversary Educational Conference at **Lincoln University,** (Mo.), May 23–24.

Lincoln University is requesting an appropriation of $3,500,000 from the legislature. It has recently received a WPA grant for $46,073 for work on the campus.

An Educational Conference was held at the University, May 23–24. The theme was "The Negro College in the Changing Order."

Bennett College held its closing exercises on May 25th when Dr. D. W. Henry, pastor, Tindley Temple, Philadelphia, delivered the anniversary address. Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, delivered the Baccalaureate sermon on June 1, while the commencement address on June 2 was delivered by Hon. Clyde R. Hoey, former governor of North Carolina.

Dr. Thomas W. Turner, Head of Natural Sciences at **Hampton Institute,** presented an important paper on "Seven-Year Experiment in Cotton Breeding at Hampton Institute," at the 19th annual meeting of the Virginia Academy of Science on May 2 and 3, at the Medical College of Virginia, Richmond. Dr. Kenneth B. M. Crooks of Hampton's Biology Department also presented a paper on "The Biology of Male Mosquitoes."

The 1941 session of the Hampton Institute Summer School will open on June 16. William Mason Cooper is director. The 6-week term will end July 25, and the 9-week term will end August 15.

Charles N. Smallwood, of Hempstead, N. Y., a sophomore in the Division of Education at Hampton Institute, has been elected editor of the *Hampton Script,* official student bi-weekly newspaper.

The Division of Social Sciences of **Howard University** held its sixth conference for four days in mid-May. The theme was "Minorities in the Present International Crisis." Speakers were Frank M. Knight, professor of Economics, University of Chicago; Edwin R. Embree, president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund; Gunnar Myrdal, director of the Carnegie-Myrdal study on the Negro in America; W. Y. Elliot, professor of government at Harvard University; Joseph S. Roucek of Hofstra College; Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University; Rupert Emerson, of

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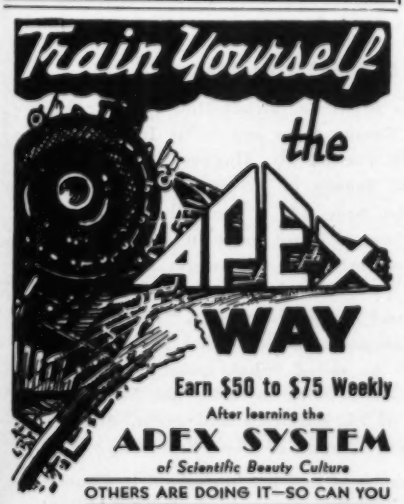

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The Pennsylvania State Negro Council held its annual Spring meeting at **Cheyney State Teachers College** on April 26. Many phases of problems vitally important to the general welfare and progress of Negroes were interestingly discussed. The principal speaker was Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, president of Cheyney.

The First Invitation Declamatory Contest for High School Seniors was held at **Storer College** on April 19, with contestants from West Virginia and Maryland. First prize of $50 was won by Miss Helen Russell, Frederick Douglass High School, Baltimore, Md. The second prize, $30 was won by Earl M. Pinkett, of the Winchester, Va., High School. The third prize of $20 was won by Miss Julie Shaw of the Sumner High School, Martinsburg, W. Va.

Determination

My feet have felt the sands
Of many nations;
I have drunk the water
Of many springs:
I am old,
Older than the Pyramids,
I am older than the race
That oppresses me;
I will live on . . .
I will outlive oppression,
I will outlive the oppressors.

—JOHN HENRY CLARKE

A Prayer

God,
Grant me time to
Work.
Dear God
Grant me time to
Play;
Precious God
Grant me time to
Live my life
In my own particular
Way.
Amen.

—L. S. HATHCOCK

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THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910. *It is published monthly at* 69 *Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15c *a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care is assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November* 2, 1910, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879, *and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

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NEXT MONTH

A feature of the July CRISIS will be a new story by Langston Hughes entitled, "One Friday Morning."

There is scheduled, also, an article on the work of Dr. Charles Drew in the collection of blood plasma for the Royal Air Force and the bomb-shocked citizens of England.

The 30th annual education number of THE CRISIS will appear in August with the news and pictures of college graduates for 1940-41. Material for this issue must be in THE CRISIS office not later than July 5.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Langston Hughes needs no introduction to the readers of THE CRISIS. Twenty years ago in its June issue of 1921, THE CRISIS carried Mr. Hughes first published poem "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," and this anniversary is noted on page 187. Since that publication Mr. Hughes has risen to front rank in literary circles. He has published several books of poems; a novel, "Not Without Laughter;" a book of short stories, "The Ways of White Folks;" and his autobiography, "The Big Sea." His newest book of poems is scheduled for publication in August. It will be called "Shakespeare in Harlem." Mr. Hughes at present is living in California, but may be addressed in care of his publisher and agent, Alfred A. Knopf, 501 Madison Avenue in New York City.

James W. Ivy, who lives and teaches school in Phoebus, Va., has become familiar to readers of THE CRISIS through his discerning book reviews.

George Padmore continues his writings from London, managing by some miracle, to get his articles to America. Collins J. Reynolds is a new writer to THE CRISIS. He lives in New York. T. Rupert Broady is an assistant in the research department at Tuskegee Institute.

Editorials

Editor, ROY WILKINS
Advisory Board: Lewis Gannett, Arthur B. Spingarn, Sterling A. Brown, William Allan Neilson, Walter White, Carl Murphy, John Hammond

Wartime Lynchings

IN the midst of all the fine talk about democracy and the rights of man, lynching proceeds without interference or punishment of lynchers in the nation which has undertaken to tell the rest of the world how to mind its morals.

So accustomed to lynchings has America become that we have ceased to gasp at brutal details, but even a casual scrutiny of the accounts of the lynching of A. C. Williams in Quincy, Fla., on May 13 must bring a shudder to the strongest stomach.

Here was a man only accused—not proved guilty—of a crime. He is taken from the jail by a mob, shot numerous times and left for dead. It is found that he is not dead and the sheriff places him in an ambulance for transportation to a hospital some miles away. Despite the fact that a mob already had nearly taken his life, thus indicating clearly the lynching atmosphere, the sheriff provided no guard. The ambulance was halted by a group of men, the wounded prisoner taken from his stretcher and killed.

Nothing quite so callous has appeared on the national scene since the lynching in White Bluff, Tenn., some years ago when a deputy sheriff loaned his pistol to a mob leader, who promptly shot a Negro to death and then returned the smoking gun to the peace officer.

In commenting on the Florida lynching, the New York *Times* stated:

> "Nothing that can happen in this country is better grist for the Nazi propaganda mill than a lynching. . . .
> "It is therefore literally true that the unknown men who killed a Negro prisoner near Quincy, Fla., on Tuesday morning were doubly steeped in crime. They murdered a human being who had not been convicted of a crime, though he may have been guilty of one. They also betrayed their country. Nor can the Sheriff, who did not provide an adequate guard, or the State Attorney, who can find 'no clues to identify the slayers,' be absolved."

To this comment we add merely that if the Florida lynching was treason of a kind, what about the lynching of Private Felix Hall of the 24th United States infantry regiment, whose body was found hanging to a tree within the boundaries of Ft. Benning, Ga.?

America is marching to war for the purpose of stopping brutalities overseas, but apparently our government does not choose to stop lynching within its own borders, or even within the borders of its army camps, which are wholly under its jurisdiction.

Of course, this practice is calculated to make thirteen million American Negroes throw their hats into the air at the very mention of "defense of democracy."

Congress Can Regulate Primary Elections

IN a case arising in New Orleans, the United States supreme court has ruled that Congress has the power to regulate primary as well as general elections where the primaries have candidates for federal office.

We have not been able to secure, before press time, an opinion from our legal committee on what effect this opinion will have on the fight of the Negro in the South to secure the ballot now withheld from him by numerous devices, including the so-called white primary election.

To a lay mind it would seem that the supreme court opinion makes it possible for Congress to open up certain primary elections to Negroes. If we are correct, no longer will it be possible to bar colored voters from primaries—solely on the basis of color—which choose candidates for the offices of Representative and Senator. This will be a step forward, although there will still remain the obstacles of the poll tax and the biased administration of the education test, to mention only two.

Of course, there is the task of getting Congress to pass the necessary legislation, but even in the face of certain opposition from southerners, this could be accomplished through a united and skillful attack.

We Take a Bow

ON page 187 of this issue we re-publish the poem, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" by Langston Hughes, first published in THE CRISIS for June, 1921. This twentieth anniversary of the Hughes poem recalls the constant difficulty of maintaining an all-purpose magazine like THE CRISIS. The magazine has been first of all a crusader for the cause of the Negro, emphasizing the program of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It has tried to be, next, a general magazine of Negro life. At the same time it has tried to encourage Negro writers and authors by providing an outlet for their talents into print, a necessary step toward their recognition by the general public.

This has been no easy task. A propaganda or "cause" magazine automatically restricts itself. Practically all such organs, white or black, must be subsidized because the nature of the bulk of their circulation does not attract the usual commercial advertisers. The encouragement of new talent does little, if anything, to attract new readers or new revenue.

There is a peculiar satisfaction, therefore, in our reflection upon the career of Langston Hughes, who went on from his first publication in these pages to world-wide fame as an author. We salute him. We take a small bow for ourselves, and we pledge once again that our pages will be open always to young men and women of talent.

Important Victory

CONGRESSMAN ARTHUR W. MITCHELL'S victory in the United States supreme court in his suit over the denial of Pullman car accommodations by a railroad in Arkansas is an important milestone in the fight for just treatment of Negro travelers by railroads. The court ruled that Negroes who purchase first class tickets may not be denied Pullman berths or any of the accommodations which go with first class tickets. This is not a new pronouncement by the court, but one which emphasizes its previous decisions and also previous decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission. It cannot help but lift some of the unfair and unequal barriers to travel hitherto the lot of the Negro who ventured abroad in this "free" land.

It should be remembered that the decision in the Mitchell case *did not* touch upon the Jim Crow car as such. That hated institution is still with us. The Mitchell decision insures that those Negroes who have the funds and the opportunity may escape the Jim Crow car by purchasing first class tickets. For carrying through this fight to a successful conclusion, our Congressman deserves the thanks and congratulations which have justly been showered upon him.

The Need for Heroes

By Langston Hughes

Heroes of the race have been overlooked by our writers, says this distinguished author, who calls for a moratorium on the problem books, the defeatists, and the caricatures, the groaning, moaning and grinning literature in favor of inspiring works about our heroes

THE written word is the only record we will have of this our present, or our past, to leave behind for future generations. It would be a shame if that written word in its creative form were to consist largely of defeat and death. Suppose NATIVE SON'S Bigger Thomas (excellently drawn as he is) was the sole survivor on the bookshelves of tomorrow? Or my own play, MULATTO, whose end consists of murder, madness, and suicide? If the best of our writers continue to pour their talent into the tragedies of frustration and weakness, tomorrow will probably say, on the basis of available literary evidence, "No wonder the Negroes never amounted to anything. There were no heroes among them. Defeat and panic, moaning, groaning, and weeping were their lot. Did nobody fight? Did nobody triumph? Here is that book about Bigger. The catalogue says it sold several hundred thousand copies. A Negro wrote it. No wonder Hitler wiped the Negroes off the face of Europe."

Another more thoughtful student of the year A.D. 2200, one engaged in research for a Ph.D. perhaps, might say, "But there is a book on the Nordic shelves by a writer named Vandercook that makes the blacks out as great fighters and heroes. It's called BLACK MAJESTY and concerns Toussaint L'Ouverture, Dessalines, and Christophe of Haiti."

"But he was a white man and probably inclined to romanticize," the first student will say. "Have you come across any good books the Negroes themselves wrote about their own heroes?"

"A few histories by Dr. Woodson," the second student would say. "But the facts are condensed and the color of the times is not there. Dr. Woodson was a Negro who did his best, with excellent scholarship but in a short space of time and with practically no funds, to put down the history of his people in America and to cover a very wide field —because practically nobody had done it before him. He had no time nor leisure nor funds to devote himself to a full exploration of the heroes of the race. Harriett Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, Nat Turner were worthy of an odyssey—a great creative series of biographies and novels —but I don't find them on the shelves of our library. What were the Negro writers doing in the Twentieth Century?"

"Perhaps Hitler burned their books," says the first student.

"He couldn't burn them if they didn't exist," says the second student. "Even now in literature the colored people have a need for heroes."

Heroes Ignored

And with that statement let us bring our conversation back through time to today. In our books and plays, our songs and radio programs, Negroes have a need for heroes, now, this moment, this year. The field of humor and fun has been widely explored, largely by white writers from Octavius Roy Cohen to whoever does the scripts for Rochester. The field of frustration and tragedy has been put on paper and on the stage by dozens of excellent writers, Negro and white, from Eugene O'Neil to Richard Wright, Glenmore Millen to Claude McKay, Walter White to Theodore Ward. The field of struggle is depicted by DuBois, Johnson, and others of the sociologists and survey makers. The field of folk lore is covered and uncovered by A. C. L. Adams, Odum, Johnson, and Zora Neale Hurston. Day to day achievement and the amazing practical progress of less than a century of freedom is recorded by Embree, Work, the late James Weldon Johnson—quiet, useful, factual records, invaluable to the scholar and historian. But where, in all these books, is that compelling flame of spirit and passion that makes a man say, "I, too, am a hero, because my race has produced heroes like that!"?

Where is the novel or biographical study of Frederick Douglass who defied death to escape from slavery, defied mob-wrath to resist Jim Crow, defied narrowness and convention to side with woman suffrage in a day when women were considered fit only for housewives, defied the racial chauvinism of both his own race and the whites in his second marriage? In other words, a MAN, strong and unafraid, who did not die a suicide, or a mob-victim, or a subject for execution, or a defeated humble beaten-down human being. Douglass lived greatly, triumphed over his times, and left a flaming pattern for the youth of all ages and all countries. But no Negro writes a novel about him. No, we write about caged animals who moan, who cry, who go mad, who are social problems, who have no guts.

We have a need for heroes. We have a need for books and plays that will encourage and inspire our youth, set for them examples and patterns of conduct, move and stir them to be forthright, strong, clear-thinking, and unafraid.

Abundant Hero Material

Do not say there are no living Negro heroes. Do not say there have never been any in the past. Those statements would be lies, enormously untrue. A few of our colored writers have tried to overcome such lies, misconceptions, or lack of knowledge: Arna Bontemps, Arthur Fauset, Carter Woodson, Elizabeth Ross Haynes, J. A. Rogers.

African history, slave history, reconstruction days are crowded with the figures of heroic men and women. Search out the old slave records and read them, the autobiographies in the Schomburg Collection or the Library of Congress with their yellowed pages, the stories told by slaves and ex-slaves themselves. Read the records of reconstruction, the memoirs of our Negro congressmen of that time, and the later books by DuBois and others on the period. Then come up to today—but don't look for today in books because our few writers haven't gotten around to putting it down yet—but look in the back files of the Negro press: *The Chicago Defender* in the riot days of 1919 in that tough and amazing city; or come on up to almost now and read about Sam Solomon and the first Negro voters in Miami in 1939; or come right up to today and look at the news story of the fourteen Negro boys of the United States navy who were not afraid to expose the chains of Jim Crow on the American battleships for which you and I pay taxes.

Present Day Figures

But why bother with the newspapers at all? Look around you for the living heroes who are your neighbors—but who may not look or talk like heroes when they are sitting quietly in a chair in front of you. Just to give you a clue (for you may search out your own heroes and heroines, since you have them in your own cities and towns) look into the stories behind the lives of persons like Hank Johnson, the union leader in Chicago; like Angelo Herndon who stood trial for his life in Atlanta on a charge of sedition because he spoke against Jim Crow and hunger; like Mary McLeod Bethune who built a school in the far South on whose campus no Jim Crow is permitted, not even when Roland Hayes sings there or Mrs. Roosevelt speaks and the white folks wish to come—for they may come *and sit side by side with all others.* (And if you think that is easy to achieve in the South and does not take bravery and gall and guts, try it yourself. Or else be humble like that college president reported recently in the COURIER —of the male sex, too—who says he is sorry the white people of his community who wish to hear Mrs. Roosevelt speak on his campus cannot attend because the state law is against it! Thus meekly he accepts an obvious wrong and does nothing—not even verbally. Such men would accept Hitler without a struggle—but Mrs. Bethune wouldn't —not even in Florida.)

Another hero—if you still think there are no living ones: Roscoe Dunjee, who for twenty-six years has been the fighting editor of the *Black Dispatch* in Oklahoma City, a southern city, where the crackers and the Klu Klux have often dared a Negro to raise his voice—but Dunjee's voice is still raised against the wrongs of prejudice, Jim Crow, and oppression. But which of our novelists, black or white, have yet written a novel, a short story, or even a poem about a modern upstanding Negro editor who refuses in the face of threats to fold up shop and go down to defeat? The white writers can be excused. They have their own heroes to write about, their real heroes (and their built-up heroes) from George Washington to Edison, Barbara Fritchie to Amelia Earhart, Robert E. Lee to General Pershing, Joe Hill to Harry Bridges, Buffalo Bill to Richard Halliburton.

Hollywood Caricatures

We have our heroes, too—but we keep so silent about them. Why? We glorify them so little, *never* on the screen in the miserable uninspired (seldom lacking a cabaret scene) movies that the "Negro" film companies turn out. We almost never honor the memories of our dead heroes with celebrations, songs, or programs: those who died in the slave struggle to make us free, those who died with John Brown, those who died in the Civil War, those who were beaten to death and murdered in reconstruction days trying to establish for us today the right to vote and live as Americans. And as to the living—if we don't happen to agree with their politics, or are piqued with them because they haven't time to socialize, or are jealous of them—myopia and the mole-hills often keep us from seeing the mountains of their statures—we keep silent about them.

It is the social duty of Negro writers to reveal to the people the deep reservoirs of heroism within the race. It is one of the duties of our literature to combat—by example, not by diatribe—the caricatures of Hollywood, the Lazy Bones of the popular songs, the endless defeats of play after play and novel after novel—for we are not endlessly funny, nor always lazy, nor forever quaint, nor eternally defeated. After all, there was Crispus Attucks. There was Denmark Vesey. There was Harriett Tubman. There was Frederick Douglass. There was Oliver Laws. There is James Peck. There are the Negro voters of Miami. There are the fourteen sailors of the U.S.S. Philadelphia. And there are you.

A Word to Youth

Listen, boys and girls at Tuskegee and Wiley, in the Dunbar and Booker T. high schools all across the South, in the kitchens and hotel pantries where you work to get the money to go back to school, in the CCC camps and the army camps where you've been drafted without Negro officers—listen, boys and girls, don't let anybody tell you your own race hasn't produced great men and women, that great men and women do not exist today, that you yourselves cannot be great, guiding and leading and inspiring our people. Don't let the motion pictures that show us always as humble servants, clowns, or silly fools, kid you into believing that there never was a Nat Turner, or that the folks who marched to the polls to vote in Miami in spite of terror and sawed-off shotguns are not heroes. Don't let the radio sketches that give you only dialect comedians make you believe that lack of proper English is always attended by servility, grotesqueness, and stupidity. Remember that Sojourner Truth could neither read nor write and probably talked in dialect as well, but she was not servile or grotesque or always funny. More often her words were like a great flame to the human spirit in bondage.

And there are today in the South leaders of sharecroopers and tenant farmers whose English is by no means perfect, but who are helping to bring a new peace and a new unity to the plantations of the Southland. The radio never puts those Negroes into a sketch. But because of that lack, you yourselves must not forget that they are *here* with us today, living heroes, in danger of mob-law, arrest, and lynchings—still they are not cowards.

Ask for Books

Listen, young folks at Hampton and at Dillard, if the professors don't find for you books about the great black folks of the past, ask them where such books are. And if the Negro writers whose works are reviewed in the New York *Times* don't write the kind of books you need, then you must delve into history and write your own books yourselves, for we haven't many good Negro writers. And some of our best ones seem unaware of the heroism, past or present, of the Negro people. (I myself have not been sufficiently aware, so I accept here and now my own criticism.) I do not say that many of the tragic books and plays concerning our plight in America are not good plays or good books, having their place and their usefulness in arousing sympathy, interest, and discussion. But for ourselves who are colored and who know our plight too well, for ourselves there is a need, more than anything else, of great patterns to guide us, great lives to inspire us, strong men and women to lift us up and give us confidence in the powers we, too, possess. We ordinary people need in our books and plays and on our screens and over the air waves, Negro heroes and Negro heroines—who may or may not always speak perfect English but who are courageous, straightforward, strong; whose gaiety is not of the "Yas, suh, boss" variety all the time; and whose words and thoughts gather up what is in our own hearts and say it clearly and plainly for all to hear.

Heroes Unafraid

We need in literature the kind of black men and women all of us know exist in life: who are not afraid to claim our rights as human beings and as Americans; who are not afraid of the mobsters, the crooked politicians, and the often ignorant, short-sighted, and dangerous white demagogues in places of power; who are not afraid of the sometimes venal black demagogues paid to fool and mislead their own people. We need in our books those who remember the past when one word of freedom was enough to bring the lash to our backs—*yet that word was spoken.*

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Haitian-American Diplomatic Relations[1]

By James W. Ivy

MORE sensational lies have probably been written about Haiti than about any other country in the New World. It is usually the wrong sort of reporter who decides to stop off for a couple of hectic weeks in Port-au-Prince or Cap Haitien in order to get the real low-down on Haiti and Haitians. Such a fellow is usually looking for scandal and sensation-reeking local color and not the truth. He is already burdened with the almost innate belief that any considerable group of Negroes left to themselves to develop their own destiny are bound to revert to barbarism for the lack of white control. So naturally the fellow looks for "hornless goats," "Congo bean stews," "hairless pigs," "zombies," and any other "African" exotica which he can find. Usually he finds, or thinks he finds, what he has been looking for. His very ignorances help him. He usually knows nothing of Haitian history, nothing of Haitian life, only a few words of high-school French and no Creole at all. Therefore the *coumbite* drum becomes a Voodo drum. A Vodun ceremony an orgy. A zombie an every day reality to be met on every Haitian highway. Even Haitian peasant poverty is transmogrified into "darky laziness" and upper-class French culture into mere apishness.

Surely it is contrary to all common sense that Haiti should be *studied* and American opinion of Haiti molded by men who are so completely ignorant of the human material that is Haiti. Not even the most callow cub reporter would think of reporting on, say, Chile without some preliminary preparation in a study of the history and life of the country; yet Marine captains and sergeants, often prejudiced against both Negroes and Haitians, have been accepted in this country as authorities on Haiti and their books and articles given wide circulation. Happily, however, all this is changing. Haitian life is now being investigated by bona fide anthropologists and sociologists who understand the things they see and write about them honestly. Her history too is now being realistically integrated with that of the other Caribbean countries. To the illuminating works of Dr. Melville J. Herskovits, Harold Courlander, Dr. Ludwell Lee Montague, and the articles published by the *Journal of Negro History*, we can now add the authoritative study of Dr. Logan.

In this article-review Mr. Ivy gives high praise to Dr. Rayford Logan's new book on Haiti

Most Exhaustive Study

Haitian-American relations have been studied before; notably by the aforementioned Dr. Montague, Dr. Tansill, Miss Treudley, Dr. Rippy, and others. But Dr. Logan's book is by all odds the most exhaustive, the most definite study of American policies in regard to Haiti so far published. It is a book of unusual importance which no student of Haitian-American relations can afford to miss.

It is thoroughly documented with citations to many sources little used by most writers on Haiti. The Files of the Bureau of Navigation in the Navy Department, the Fish Papers, the Documents from the French Archives in the Library of Congress, the Materials in the Haitian Foreign Office and in the Haitian Legation in Washington, and the Despatches, Notes, and Instructions of Great Britain, France, and Spain have been put to fruitful use by Dr. Logan. Our author gives the full text of one document never before published: the famous Maitland convention signed with Toussaint.

Dr. Logan begins his study with American independence in 1776 and brings it down to the year 1891 when the United States tried to force Haiti to lease us Mole St. Nicolas. His approach is through a methodical and highly documented analysis of treaties, overt acts, understandings, and diplomatic intrigues. Dr. Logan places more stress on the place of Saint Domingue in French diplomacy during and after the American Revolution than most writers. He makes out a plausible argument for the theory that French aid to the revolting Thirteen Colonies was probably given, for one reason at least, to prevent possible attacks on her rich colony of St. Domingue. He also traces the nexus between St. Domingue and Louisiana. This nexus is treated in considerable detail. It was the destruction of Captain-General Leclerc's army in St. Domingue that finally forced Napoleon to give up his idea of a great French empire in the Mississippi Valley and to sell the United States Louisiana for a song. Haitian writers "have frequently referred to Louisiana as a gift from Haiti to the United States." Dr. Logan also gives a more extensive review of the Hunt mission of 1846 than is found in most writers.

The Monroe Doctrine

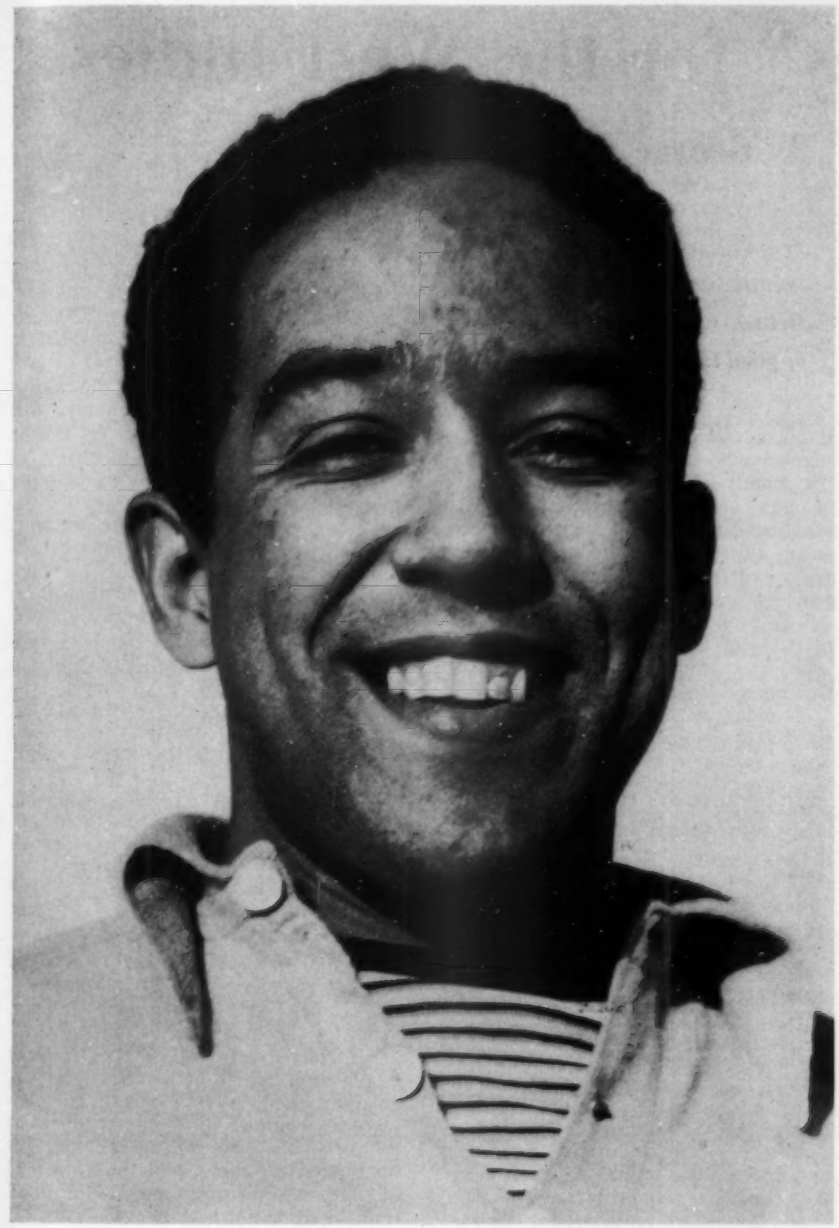
The book also has a full report on the Monroe Doctrine in its relation to Haiti. The document seems to have been worded so as to exclude Haiti from its "original territorial meaning." Only one other student of the Doctrine has noted this. The significant passage in the Doctrine in relation to Haiti is: "and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged." The United States at the time had only recognized the independence of Colombia, Chile, Mexico, and Buenos Aires. Hence logic leads one to believe that the Doctrine was not intended to include Haiti within its provisions. So we can see that Haiti had early become an "anomaly" in international diplomacy though she was the first Latin-American country to break away from *la Métropole*.

She had become an "anomaly" because it was unthinkable that a free Negro country should exist amid the slaveholding powers of France, Spain, Great Britain, and the United States. The example of Haiti was always there to excite their slaves to revolt. And it was not until southern slaveholding power had been removed from Congress by the Civil war that the United States recognized Haiti in 1862. During the early years of American relations with Haiti our government was torn between the desire to profit from Haitian trade and the equally strong desire not to give diplomatic respectability to a Negro nation.

It was the astonishing diplomatic competence of the many Haitian statesmen and the mutual jealousies and rivalries of the Powers that "consolidated the very independence that they deplored." So far as America was concerned the "sore spot was color," to use the words of William Miles. Some Haitians had suggested that the fact that the Haitian ruling class was Negro could be gotten around, if the

(*Continued on page* 206)

[1] *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Haiti, 1776–1891.* By Rayford W. Logan. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941. XI+516pp. $5.00.



Twentieth Anniversary

The greatest thrill that can come to any writer came to Langston Hughes when his first published poem appeared in the June, 1921, issue of THE CRISIS. *For no matter how many subsequent writings are printed, and how much fame an author wins, the first publication is a sensation never duplicated. Hughes went on to fame as a poet. His "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," reproduced here, was merely the forerunner of books of poems that carried his name around the world.* THE CRISIS, *which has encouraged many a young author, salutes still-young Langston Hughes, whose new book of poetry, "Shakespeare in Harlem," is scheduled for publication in August.*

The Negro Speaks of Rivers

I've known rivers:
I've known rivers ancient as the world
And older than the flow
Of human blood in human veins.

My soul has grown deep like the rivers.

I bathed in the Euphrates
When dawns were young.
I built my hut near the Congo
And it lulled me to sleep.

I looked upon the Nile
And raised the pyramids above it.
I heard the singing of the Mississippi
When Abe Lincoln
Went down to New Orleans
And I've seen its muddy bosom
Turn all golden in the sunset.

I've known rivers:
Ancient dusky rivers.

My soul has grown deep like the rivers.

"Democracy" for the West Indies

By George Padmore

From England Mr. Padmore continues his observations of British Colonial Policy as it is applied to his native West Indies

THE rich will do anything for the poor except get off their backs. Similarly the British imperialists will do anything for their subject peoples except grant them self-determination. The reason for this is obvious. They know that once the colonial peoples enjoyed real unfettered political democracy, sooner or later the economic stranglehold of European vested interests would be broken. And the British capitalist classes, especially those with colonial investments are determined not to give up their "right" to exploit the native peoples. This is the basic reason why Britain has resisted and will continue to resist every effort on the part of the Indian people for political liberty and human freedom, even while appealing to them to help fight for "democracy!" "Democracy," said Thucydides, "cannot govern an Empire . . . Empire is despotism."

The tragedy of India is being repeated in the West Indies. Like typical Bourbons, our imperialist masters seem to learn nothing and to forget nothing. Despite the unmistakable temper of the West Indian masses, urging for a fundamental change in their economic and political conditions, the Colonial Office is trying to palm them off with a makeshift Constitution. While seemingly democratic, the so-called reforms just granted to Trinidad and Jamaica reserve all essential powers in the hands of the Governors. The old discredited Crown Colony system is dressed up to look progressive, but the Colonial Office has not succeeded in hoodwinking the West Indians.

"We see neither progress nor reform in this much-publicised blessing," writes *The People* of Trinidad: Giving judgment, it continues: "Indeed, we find ourselves in this dilemma as regards the new constitution: we are wondering whether we over-estimate the sublety of the Colonial Office or whether they under-estimate ours. There is a good strong American word by which all such acts are explained—bluff! It is particularly apt in this instance. Nothing has been gained by this so-called reform, and if the Government plays its cards well, its position, not that of the people of Trinidad, will be strengthened by this clever piece of political strategy. More care in the selection of its nominated members—and, presto, the trick is done. It is simple arithmetic: three officials plus six nominated make nine, the people elect nine from those of their number who earn more than 160 dollars per month (£10 per week). With the chances of unity greater among the nominated and official members, the result is a foregone conclusion! The Governor will hardly need to use his new power of veto. We regret that we cannot respect this sort of thing. A few more local men will have the opportunity to hold forth in the Council Chamber. But that is all."

Trinidad is the second largest of the Caribbean colonies, but the most developed, thanks to its oil and asphalt industries. Nevertheless, the island is primarily agricultural, the chief products being sugar, cocoa and citrus fruit. The population is cosmopolitan—Africans, East Indians, Chinese, Portuguese, Jews and European descendants of early French and Spanish settlers. The English comprise chiefly Government officials, missionaries and representatives of banking, commercial and trading interests.

The country is ruled by a Governor assisted by a council of 25 members, the majority of whom are Government officials and individuals nominated to the Council by the Governor. These latter represent various industrial, commercial and agricultural interests. Seven elected members are returned to the Council every four years on a limited franchise. These individuals are usually native born—white as well as colored.

The Property Requirement

At the time of the last election there were 30,911 registered voters out of a population of 456,006—that is, 6.5 per cent. Economic reasons account for this small percentage. A native must earn £62.10.0. per annum before being registered as a voter. The average income of an agricultural worker is hardly more than £40 to £45 per annum, and the laboring class consists chiefly of this type of worker. Consequently, the vast majority of the population, who stand most in need of economic and social relief, are deprived of any part in choosing those who govern them. This is not the only handicap, however. Prospective members must own real estate to the value of £2,000 or derive £200 per annum therefrom; or have resided in the electoral district for one year or own therein real estate of £5,000 in value or giving income of £400 per annum. The result is that even the lower middle classes, who might be able to qualify as voters, have not the possibility of being represented by one of their own class, much less the workers and the peasants.

There is nothing in the new constitution which will remedy this undemocratic practice, as it make no immediate provision for abolishing property qualifications. The most that has been proposed is that the Governor should appoint a committee to examine the possibilities of widening the franchise, but even this will not take place until after a trial period lasting until 1948!

In actual membership of the Legislative Council there is to be a reduction from 26 to 15. Of these 9 will be officials and 9 elected. In short, the people's representatives are to be increased by two. This constitutes the only real change. To counter-balance the equalization, the Governor will have a casting vote, and in the final resort, can exercise powers of veto.

The new arrangement for Jamaica proposes the introduction of "universal adult suffrage, in which the property qualification would be abolished, and an enlarged Legislative Council, to comprise approximately double the present number of elected members, with nominated members, and three, instead of five, ex-officio members, the total number to be not less than 40."

Admittedly the introduction of adult suffrage will be a progressive step on the road to political democracy, but why negate its benefits by retaining the high property and income qualifications for candidates to the Council? For while allowing the workers and peasants to vote, it will preclude them from returning representatives from their own class.

The common people will not be satisfied with these halfway reforms. Candidature based on income and property qualifications must be entirely abolished. A small deposit should be sufficient to guard against irresponsible candidates.

Governor Retains Veto

The ex-official members will be re-

duced from five to three, but the Governor will continue to nominate ten members. In this way "all important sections and interests would receive adequate representation," says the Secretary of State for Colonies.

Who and what are these interests: The sugar planters and banana combines, the shipping and trading companies, which dominate the Chamber of Commerce; the industrialists and big employers of labor.

Although the people's representatives will be in the majority, the imperialists and their native capitalist allies need not be afraid that the elected members will adopt socialistic legislation. As the "Times" has reminded us, "the Governor, who has always possessed certain emergency powers, especially in finance, is now given the right to over-ride his Legislative Council should that be required by the interests of public order, public faith or good government."

The whole business of the constitutions was conducted in traditional Whitehall manner. When they were ready, the Governors of the islands were called to London for consultation, and the accomplished facts put before Parliament and the people of the islands. The same "take it or leave it" attitude was adopted over the leasing of bases to America. And when the matter was raised in the House of Commons, that Canadian cracker, Beverley Baxter, M.P. had the impertinence to declare: *"At such a moment we are not going to say to Americans, 'wait a minute, the Parliament of Great Britain wants to talk about terms and color ban and nigger problems. . . . "* We can afford to ignore this Tory mountebank. What is significant, however, neither the Speaker nor Mr. Attlee, Lord Privy Seal, rebuked Baxter for the use of such an offensive term as "nigger," in reference to colored British subjects. Parliament is fast degenerating into a Reichstag.

Power Is Complete

Those who are unfamiliar with the prerogatives of a Colonial Governor will find it difficult to realize their complete power. They report to one man, and one man alone—the Secretary of State for the Colonies—to whom they owe their appointments. In his person a Crown Colony Governor symbolizes a sort of trinity. As the representative of the King, constitutionally he "can do no wrong." As head of the Executive, he is Prime Minister, and thirdly, when presiding over the Legislature, he is Speaker. It obviously takes a very bold man to criticize such a three-fold personality.

"Any labor leader or exponent of progressive thought was at the mercy of the Governor, whose judgment could not be challenged and who might constitute himself prosecutor, judge and jailer," declared David Adams, M.P., addressing a recent conference of the National Council of Civil Liberties in London, in reference to colonial disabilities.

How is the business of Crown Colony government actually conducted? The Governor has a Cabinet or Executive Council (called in Jamaica the Privy Council), made up of members selected by him. Usually they are the heads of the most important civil and military departments, augmented by one or two native Quislings—colored men who have demonstrated their loyalty to the imperialists over a long period by opposing all progressive measures which might prove to the interests of the common people.

The Executive controls all financial matters, and is the body which formulates all legislation later proposed before the Legislative Council for approval or disapproval. The powers of this Executive Council, however, are purely consultative, as the Governor is under no obligation to accept the advice of the members. Significantly enough, the new recommendations do not greatly affect the composition or power of the Executive. Such trifling changes as are to be made are in the Legislative Council. The two additional members to the Trinidad Legislative Council and the 14 to the Jamaican Council can change executive policy in no essential detail. This constitutes the essential feature of Crown Colony administration. Even in Ceylon, where the Donoughmore constitution—that Labor Party gift to the Ceylonese natives—allows wider representation and to all intents and purposes affords greater opportunities for the promulgation of progressive measures, the Governor has the final word. Despite the fact that the Ceylonese ministers have administrative responsibility and are permitted to propose and decide legislation, even financial, the Governor can over-ride, at his own discretion, any measure adopted by a majority of the State Council.

When British imperialists offer a constitution to the colonial peoples it is like Greeks bearing gifts—something to beware of. They are trying to bamboozle the West Indians, just as the East Indians, but they will succeed no better in one way than in the other.

West Indians Dissatisfied

It is quite certain that West Indian public opinion will not be satisfied with the proposed niggardly reforms. The insignificant constitutional gestures made to the native peoples of Trinidad and Jamaica completely ignore the solid political claims of the colonies, while leaving out entirely the other Caribbean countries, British Guiana and British Honduras.

It is scandalous that some three million people should be ruled by about a dozen separate governors and legislatures. Each colony is at present obliged to struggle to maintain its own medical and health services, education and agricultural departments, police and judiciary, and other essential functions of modern government. The Governors alone together receive more than £30,000 ($120,000) per annum in salaries and allowances. Is it to be wondered at that these colonies are so poor?

Today every progressive individual realizes the advantages of the political federation of national and geographical units as the best way of promoting the economic and social wellbeing of the people. So much so, that even non-socialists favor a Federated Europe. Nevertheless, the Colonial Office continues to ignore the popular demand for West Indian Federation.

"Whatever might be the ultimate future of the West Indies as a whole," declares Lord Moyne, "we could not look to any uniform system of government in the component parts."

West Indians have more in common than the peoples of Europe. They belong in the main to the same ethnic stock—Africans. They speak the same language, profess the same Christian religion, and have assimilated the same cultural outlook. In fact, they have more in common among themselves than have, say, the English and the Welsh, or the English and the Scotch, to say nothing of the Irish.

Surely it is not the sea that stands in the way of federation? No, the British imperialists find it advantageous to keep them separated from each other. It fits in better with their historic policy of "divide and rule."

Colonial peoples are getting very sick of this sort of thing. They are tired of being ruled over and bossed by foreigners, and reject the British imperialist theory of the "white man's burden" as much as they repudiate the arrogant "master race" claims of the Nazis.

As President Roosevelt recently reminded the world that "there never has been, is not now, and never will be any race of people (including the English—G.P.) fit to serve as masters over their fellow men . . . We believe that any nationality, no matter how small, has the inherent right to its own nationhood." This, too, is our claim.

NAACP Conference

Houston, Tex., June 24-29

Dividends from Democracy

By Collins J. Reynolds

LET us assume that this is a war in defense of democracy, notwithstanding the many contrary views; that to us the defense of England and the British Empire as such, is secondary; that in order to safeguard the American form of government we must support Britain in her struggle. If we so subscribe it then becomes evident that we prefer the American form of government to dictatorship in spite of the short-comings of the former, and that we would of necessity act and cast our lot with the defenders of democracy at home and abroad.

All of the evidence thus far accumulated from the rule of the dictators and from the experiences of the peoples living under the totalitarian regimes weighs heavily against any argument in their favor and bodes ill for all minority groups, especially Negroes and other "non-aryans" who may be so unfortunate as to have to live in a world dominated by forces avowedly inimical to their well-being. What, then, must be the position of the Negro in the world conflict of ideologies in order to help make more secure his gains, political, social and economic, and provide the possibilities for a brighter future? The choice is not a difficult one to make. While democracy in America leaves much to be desired, it is our privilege to aid in the attainment of the ideals set forth. Our right to the ballot and freedom to express ourselves and assemble are at once privileges and instruments by which we can help to determine the rate of progress toward greater democracy. We are not oblivious of the fact that large numbers of Negroes are denied the right to vote, and we must realize that a great many whites are unable to exercise this fundamental democratic right. This is one of the spheres into which the principles of democracy must be made an actuality. But there are no principles of the totalitarian governments that we could adhere to, for their creed exalts the "aryan" and debases all others and proclaims the rule of a privileged master class over the rest of the world.

But America is certainly no pure democracy. Indeed it has seen much that might shake one's faith in democracy. But what system has man devised that is better? Definitely dictatorship is not the answer. More democracy, we believe is a better answer. There are no pure democracies anywhere in the world today. The ancient Greeks came nearer to the realization of this ideal than any other people before or since. Their achievement was realized through progressive steps. And like the Greeks America, too, has been moving closer to the democratic ideal since the founding of the nation. Or has it? Let's see.

The advance of political democracy began with the guarantees of personal liberty by the Constitution and continued with the triumph of popular sovereignty during the Jeffersonian era, the extension of political rights to the common man during the Jacksonian period, the abolition of slavery as a result of the Civil war together with the admission of the Negro to citizenship and to the right of the ballot, and the recognition of the political equality of women was attained in the second decade of the present century.

The Bill of Rights

The guarantees of personal liberty came in 1791 in the form of the first ten amendments or Bill of Rights, just four years after the adoption of the original Constitution. This Bill of Rights serves to emphasize and to help make manifest the principle that the state exists for the sake of the individual. In a totalitarian state there are no guarantees of individual freedom, the individual exists for the sake of the state, giving to the individual no rights that the state is bound to respect.

Popular sovereignty triumphed during the administration of Jefferson, who was hailed as the President of "the people." Until the first decade of the nineteenth century the people could not vote for President, and democracy made a great forward stride when it gave to the people the right to vote in elections for the President.

But still the political rights of the common man were abbreviated and limited. It remained for the Jacksonian period to witness the rise of the common man. Many states amended their constitutions in order to give the people greater control of the government, removing property and religious qualifications for voting and office holding, and a number of states gave to the people the choice of Presidential electors.

Then came what was perhaps the most significant and far reaching step of them all—the abolition of Negro slavery. Democracy up to now had virtually been a mockery. While it proclaimed that all men were created free and equal, and that its government was a government by the people, of the people, and for the people, it permitted to exist the enslavement of millions within its borders, an inconsistency that gave a hollow tinkle to the bells of liberty and an empty sound to the voice of democracy. The elimination of the institution of slavery was not enough for the reformers, abolitionists, and believers in democracy. The freed Negro must have citizenship, and more than that the right to participate in elections. And this was accomplished.

One other step in the advance of political democracy in America of no minor importance, was the recognition of the political equality of women. This is a right that was long fought for in an heroic manner, and gives to America a monumental achievement that demonstrates the ever increasing democratization that may be accelerated after what probably will be a successful defense of democracy. For the will of the people to rule is forcefully demonstrated in the over-throw by the Yugoslav people of their government, who sold them out to the dictators, and their setting up of a government to adhere to the popular will.

But political democracy is not all that is necessary to make possible the full life. Nor does it make life any more beautiful for the ill-fed, ill-housed, and ill-clothed. The quest for economic and social democracy has been given added attention recently, but its beginning is not recent. Jefferson championed religious freedom and popular education. Jacksonian democracy saw widespread changes toward social democracy, during which period were established state-supported school systems, and the separation of church and state was realized in New England. There has been much effort to curb the growth of trusts and the too great expansion of companies or small groups of men controlling the nation's wealth in specific areas at the expense of the common welfare.

The New Deal

The efforts of the New Deal toward economic and social democracy have been herculean and revolutionary. The measures of the New Deal are quite familiar and the effects of many of them have been felt by the masses of people.

and by the most humble among us. The Housing Program, Public Works, Social Security, Farm Relief, labor legislation, relief of debtor class, supervision of the sale of securities, and unemployment relief, indicate in part the recent effort made to achieve economic and social democracy.

In spite of the general progress toward political, economic, and social democracy the road ahead is a long one. We find but little satisfaction in the knowledge that we are moving in the direction of the democratic ideal. What we do find in larger measure is encouragement to go on. For it seems reasonable to believe that with the pushing onward of democracy the Negro, too, will be a greater participant as well as the down-trodden of other groups.

What impetus, if any, will be given to the development of democracy should victory come to its champions in the present conflict? Will the position of the Negro be brought into sharper focus, and if so to what avail? First, there is every probability that democracy will continue to develop and be made more secure, and durable. All through nineteenth century Europe democracy, together with nationalism, was the goal of struggle after struggle, many of which, as can be seen in before and after observation, resulted in real advances. The World War resulted in an extension of democracy in Europe and its further spread throughout the world. After the war universal suffrage was instituted in practically all of the new states of Europe. Constitutionalism and many other democratic manifestations became more widespread. Democracy throughout the world soared to new heights, and continued to progress in spite of the dictatorships, for totalitarianism is not new. We know that it was the chief characteristic of the Old Regime, of ancient and medieval times; it is the foe against which democracy has ever had to fight. But this is not the only foe of democracy, indeed our preoccupation with the more obvious one induces us to forget the more insidious enemy—hypocrisy.

This skeleton closet in the mansion of democracy makes the whole house frightful and less desirable to live in. Like in the days when democracy harbored slavery, its present-day treatment of the Negro and failure to admit him to full enjoyment of and participation in the institutions developed with democratic philosophy and principles, is incongruous and incompatible, contradictory and irreconcilable.

Shams of Democracy

The prevention of Negroes from using public tax-supported libraries, parks, and other vital facilities in southern sections; the unjust and pitifully insufficient appropriations for Negro education in many states wherein the appropriations for whites are often more than twice as much per child; the sundry means, as literacy tests unfairly administered, accumulating poll tax, and violence as in Brownsville, Tennessee, in 1940, etc., used to keep the Negro from exercising his franchise; and employment denied because of color, and etc., are all indicative of the sham, cant, and affectation of the democratic pretenders. If this enemy within is not attacked with equal vigor and enthusiasm, democracy will die of its own duplicity and guile.

Let us examine the possibility that advantages may accrue to us should our position come into sharper focus in the event of victory for democracy. There are indications that the position of the Negro is already coming more to the attention of the rest of America and the world. As a result of the crisis in Czechoslovakia involving the German minority there, one of America's largest weekly picture magazines, *Life* saw fit to devote several full pages to Negro life, showing many pictures and told a rather creditable story of their estate. Its topic was "America too has its Minority Problem." It is not a commonplace for the Negro to get voluntary recognition by a large national publication in an objective manner. The world crisis obviously called attention to the Negro in this instance.

The recent address of the President of the University of Chicago using direct and unequivocal language denouncing the circumscribed status of the Negro—designated by actual use of the word Negro—is another instance which indicates added and growing attention being turned toward the Negro. Democracy on trial gave rise to the tenor of President Hutchins's speech. Instances like the discrimination against Marian Anderson in the use of Constitution hall now take on greater meaning and cannot escape wider cognizance than usual. The immediate result of this was the offer by the Secretary of Interior of use of the Lincoln Memorial and the condemnation of the Daughters of the American Revolution by Mrs. Roosevelt and others. These are but a few of the instances which serve to indicate the focus. It is not insignificant that persons in high places and large publishers who may be particularly sensitive to the public disposition and developments of social import, make such pronouncements and gestures.

Greater Benefits Possible

Then, should we find our position in sharper focus, it leads one to reason that greater participation in democracy is possible and more probable. But this does not mean that our fight for equal opportunity, the protection of the law in the exercise of our rights, against discrimination, and segregation, and all of the other evils that beset us can be let up. It only means that our efforts should be redoubled for they may bring greater results than ever before.

After the World War the Negro's effort became more effective though the fight was still a hard one. Indeed the future was much darker before the war. In many areas Negroes were losing ground gained and had lost it in others, while progress generally was at a slower tempo. All of the Negro Congressmen as well as Senators chosen after the Civil war had ceased to exist without successors. The non-enforcement of the second section of the fourteenth amendment, which provides that the basis of representation in Congress shall be reduced in proportion to the number of citizens whose right to vote has been denied, or in any way abridged, came to be a mutual agreement between North and South.

Negroes were attending the University of Maryland until 1890 when they were barred from future attendance. Approximately half the Negro population was engaged in agriculture, poorly equipped, and economically in difficult condition, most of whom were sharecroppers living under conditions bordering on the primitive. The latter are still with us in far too great numbers. More than thirty per cent of us were in domestic service. Only about thirteen per cent were in trades, professions, business and all other occupations combined. In the ten years immediately preceding the World War there were less than two thousand Negro college graduates. Our estate, economically, politically, socially and culturally provided a picture far from bright.

War Spurred Progress

After the World War victory there was a noticeable up-turn in the progress of the Negro. In 1930 about thirty-five per cent of us were in occupations other than farming and domestic work. In the first year after the war Negroes gained recognition of their right to vote in the city primaries in Waco, Texas, and more recently the state of Texas was forced by the U. S. supreme court to admit Negroes to all primaries, though this was later somewhat nullified. We have had two Congressmen in the national body since the war, one of whom one readily realizes is incumbent. Indiana has recently elected a Negro to the state Senate, and there are several other states in whose law-making bodies

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Poll Tax: Symbol of Oppression

By T. Rupert Broady

IN 1920, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois drew a map which showed the relative political power of the various sections of the United States. In the South, where 10 per cent of the total population and 18 per cent of the men and women over 21 years of age voted, 104 representatives were elected to the 67th Congress. The total number of persons participating in the election was less than two and a half million of a "probable voting population of nearly thirteen million." To state this another way it required only 21,248 votes per representative. To have reconciled the South's representation with the rest of the nation it would have been necessary to reduce her representatives from 104 to 31.

Twenty years later in the midst of a world conflagration, mounting war hysteria and efforts to perpetuate these same undemocratic practices—which give the lie to anything approaching a government of the people—the South is still far short of having a semblance of democracy.

South Carolina (which state showed an actual decrease in the number of voters between 1932 and 1940) had in 1940 11,639 voters per representative in Congress. California in this same election had 163,439 or 14 times as many voters per representative. Similar figures might be cited for each of the eight poll tax states where the average number of voters per representative was approximately 33,714 or about one-fifth of the number of voters per representative in California.

To state the same story in percentages, it has been estimated that on the average about 22 per cent of the adults in the poll tax states vote, while 70 per cent of the adults in the other 40 states exercise this privilege.

The Birmingham, Ala., *Age-Herald* for September 15, 1938, carried the following significant statement in an article signed by Wickes Wamboldt:

"The Federal Constitution guarantees to the citizen the right of franchise; yet repeatedly and commonly do party rings and machines deprive citizens of such right. By an infinite variety of fraudulent methods the will of the majority is defeated and the will of a small entrenched minority made to rule. It is common to hear the remark, 'What's the use of voting? They will steal the election anyway.'

"And after the election has been stolen what can anybody do about it in a local or State court controlled by the very outfit that did the stealing? Any attempt to bring the criminals to justice becomes a farce—which still further impairs the strength, dignity and standing of democracy.

"The ballot in this country is largely becoming a mockery and therein our democracy faces its greatest single danger. Let the ballot be corrupted and the government is corrupted. Let a government become sufficiently corrupted and it falls and is replaced by some other government. . . .

"The men who corrupt our elections are enemies to our democracy far greater than the most radical of Communists and Fascists; for they frustrate the working of democracy. and discourage the people with democracy. Let us up and at them!"

Eight states still retain the poll tax and by this method disfranchise about ten million white and Negro Americans in the southern states

Where the above quotation states that the ballot is largely becoming mockery, I would state that it is a mockery—mockery for those disfranchised millions in the South who do not have poll tax money. And it is intensified mockery for those whose skins happen to be black.

Adopted to Remove Negro

It is not the concern of this article to trace the origin of the poll tax in general as an instrument for raising revenue but rather with the poll tax as a post-Civil War instrument utilized for the avowed purpose of disfranchising the Negro voter. Note the following statement from an editorial in the Gadsen, Alabama, *Times* for March 26, 1941:

"Many factors entered into the restoration of a sane and desirable order, but none was more important than the poll tax. It proved an effective weapon in behalf of white supremacy because it stood the constitutional test. The states had a right to declare the poll tax payment a prerequisite to voting, and through this requirement government by the white population was reestablished after many years. . . .

"To do away with this poll tax would be to bring back the old conditions under which public offices would be filled by colored persons wherever a majority of such persons exist. Throughout the South scores of white judges, county solicitors, members of governing boards, mayors, councilmen, treasurers, school superintendents and so forth would be cast aside to make room for colored officials. It could easily happen in every city and county where the whites are outnumbered. There are many such counties in Alabama."

It was the intention of those who introduced this obsolete tax in the respective states to remove the Negro from the political equation. It met with a partial success. Not only did it remove the Negro from politics, but it disfranchised three-fourths of the whites. Says Monroe N. Work in *Social Forces* for October, 1937: "The greatest hinderance to voting in the South is the poll tax. This was a device instituted for keeping the Negro from voting. Fortunately or unfortunately, it has also been applied to whites." The application of this tax marked the beginning of the Southern Oligarchy that continues to hold sway in the eight poll tax states.

Most of the disfranchising legislation was passed within the period between 1890 and 1910. Mississippi in 1890 put the poll tax restriction on voting, Arkansas followed in 1892, South Carolina in 1895, Alabama and Virginia in 1901, Texas in 1903, Georgia in 1908. Tennessee passed such legislation as early as 1870.

Numerous other legal means, to say nothing of extra-legal methods, were utilized during this same period to limit the electorate and to remove the Negro from politics. The literacy test, property qualifications, the "grandfather clause" and the white primary are perhaps the most important of these measures.

The following item appeared in the Atlanta *Constitution*, June 13, 1936:

"NEGRO VOTERS FACE STRICT REQUIREMENTS

Columbia, South Carolina, June 12, AP.—To vote in the state democratic primary August 25, a Negro must be 81 years old.

Under party rules he must have the indorsement of ten white men saying he voted for General Wade Hampton in 1876 in the overthrow of the carpetbag rule, and that he has voted the democratic ticket since.

Thus the Negro voter this year will have to have passed the four-score milestone."

What Its Defenders Say

Judge Walter B. Jones of Montgomery, Alabama, a columnist for the Montgomery, Ala., *Advertiser* and a staunch defender of the poll tax has the following to say on voting: "The right to vote is not a natural right and never has been. It is a political privilege and it is not a necessary attribute of citizenship. It is a privilege conferred, limited or withheld at the pleasure of *the people* acting in their sovereign capacity." One would like to ask the Judge just who is to determine the eligibility of the

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From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

An Editorial

By Tom O'Connor in the Newspaper *PM*, New York, N. Y.

We might as well face the facts.

The Negro people aren't sold on this war. They aren't sold on fighting Fascism abroad. They aren't sold on going into the Army, or paying higher taxes, or doing anything else to save the democracies.

To them, the democracies are the "democracies"—with a sneer implicit in the quotation marks. They don't like Hitler. They don't like Fascism.

"But," they say, "why should we fight? Things couldn't be much worse."

And why do they say this, feel this within themselves?

Because we have made them feel it. Because we have given them so small a share of democracy that the very word is a mockery. Because we have beaten them, crushed them, ignored their needs, laughed at their hurts, treated their wounds with the acid of bigotry and prejudice.

Now, in a time of national crisis, do we recognize our mistakes, try to correct them?

We don't. We haven't yet. We have thrown the Negro people a few sops, half-heartedly; nothing more. We still won't let them build our airplanes, won't give them any share of the gravy in the defense boom. We still won't let them into Annapolis, or into the Navy at all except as menials. We are with seeming reluctance taking a few in the Army, even training a few airmen . . . but in strictly segregated units, the very concept of which is an insult to the Negro.

Will all this win the fight against Fascism? Will it advance the cause of democracy, to isolate a tenth of the nation much as Hitler has isolated the Jews?

What are we going to do about it?

May 18, the "I Am an American" program will be staged at the municipal auditorium, Oklahoma City. The affair will be in the form of a citizenship recognition day, when those youths who have reached the age of 21, and subject to the draft, will be given orientation. Patriotic addresses will be delivered. The plans extend to giving recognition even to those aliens who have completed citizenship requirements during the past year.

But this appeal to the patriotism of the people does not up to this moment include Negro youth just reaching the 21st milestone in their lives. Although black boys, just entering the precincts of manhood, will soon be snatched from their homes into military camps and may within the year be converted into cannon fodder on foreign soil, the first impression upon their adult thinking is to be that they are a "Jim Crow" unit in the country where they were born.

We talk about national unity, but no Fifth Column conceived of could do more towards orienting Negro youth toward disloyalty than such an act. . . . Oklahoma City, Okla., *Black Dispatch.*

The election of Elie Lescot to the presidency of the Republic of Haiti is good news not only to Haitians but also to American liberals who watched with anguish the oppressive rule of Stenio Vincent—the island's would-be dictator.

Under the Vincent regime, the Haitian masses suffered the suppression of their common civil rights. The press, which in all democratic countries is looked upon as the watchdog of a free people, was gagged. Like Trujillo of Santo Domingo, Vincent perpetuated himself in office by ruthless silencing of his opponents. He either jailed or exiled those who opposed his autocratic rules. It was not unusual for a severe jail sentence to be imposed on those who dared to whisper even the mildest sort of criticism.

But for the vigilance of some fearless Haitians, the Vincent government would have returned itself to power for a third term in violation of clearly expressed provisions of the Constitution of Haiti. . . . Chicago, Ill., *Defender.*

We don't value the present until it becomes the past, and then we wish that we had been wise enough to preserve its treasures.—Cincinnati, O., *Union.*

Events at Quincy, Florida, this week started out wrong and culminated in the lynching of a Negro who was accused of criminally attacking a young white girl. Circumstances surrounding the mob action are vague, but there are sufficient facts known in this lynching to make it clear that the authorities who were holding the accused man made no effort to give him the protection which the law presupposes he would have gotten. There was, according to reports, no certainty that the man was guilty of the crime alleged, and if he had been, there would have been no loophole for his escaping his just deserts, for the law never miscarries in a case like this. It is particularly unfortunate that a lynching should occur in such perilous times as these when democracy is making a herculean fight to survive, for mob violence like this supplies the foes of democracy rich fuel with which to spread their nefarious propaganda. . . . Savannah, Ga., *Tribune.*

One charge of discrimination that deserves serious attention is the complaint that the Negro is being debarred from defense work, irrespective of his skill, and being put in the pick and shovel category for none other than racial reasons.

If there is any sincerity in our outpourings for democracy, we must consider the Negro as a human being, in whom exists the quality of human dignity. He can make his contribution to national defense, and to the extent of his ability he should be permitted to do so. . . . Minneapolis, Minn., *Spokesman.*

Fair minded government authorities who desire to include the Negro in the varied branches of the defense program, and the white and Negro agencies who are leading the fight in behalf of the group are meeting the expected strong opposition from many sources.

Getting man to realize that he is his brother's keeper is not an easy thing to do; teaching him that the axiom, live, let live and help live, is no respecter of person, or race, is a hard task; the fight to help Negroes on to their rightful place in the American way of life, is a tough one. But the tougher the battle, the harder must be the fight, if we would win. . . . Louisville, Ky., *Leader.*

Houston Awaits Conference

THE famed Texas hospitality awaits the thirty-second annual conference of the NAACP which convenes in Houston beginning Tuesday night, June 24, running through Sunday afternoon, June 29.

Host to the delegates will be the Houston branch under the presidency of the Rev. A. A. Lucas, pastor of the Good Hope Baptist church. Good Hope, located at Wilson and Saulnier streets, will be the headquarters of the conference. All sessions will be held there except the closing meeting Sunday afternoon which will be in the Music Hall of Sam Houston Coliseum.

Texans call Houston, their largest city, "Heavenly Houston," and many conventions of all types have been its guests. Well, the last week in June all roads will lead to Houston. California is sending a good delegation, with Los Angeles, Pasadena, San Diego, San Francisco, and Sacramento represented. Coming farther east, Phoenix, Albuquerque, El Paso, and Raton will have delegates. Also Denver, Pueblo, and Colorado Springs, and possibly Salt Lake City.

For the fourth time in its 32 years, the NAACP takes its annual conference into the South, to Houston, Texas, June 24-29

Oklahoma has boasted that it will have 100 delegates from its forty-one branches. Branches in the Central South are sending delegates as well as far-off Florida. From the Upper Mississippi Valley will come delegates from Missouri, Iowa, and Illinois. Detroit, Mich., plans on a chartered bus load of about twenty-five adults and youth delegates.

From the District of Columbia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts will come the eastern delegation.

National Defense Topic

Leading topic of the conference will be the Negro in the national defense program. This will be discussed all day Thursday, June 26, with short introductory statements by leaders and plenty of time for questions and reports from the delegates. The divisions to be considered are employment, unions and Negro labor, government activity, vocational training, and the armed forces.

Second topic in importance will be the franchise, with emphasis on the white Democratic primary. Full discussion of this and the poll tax will take place Wednesday morning, June 25.

Friday afternoon will be devoted to NAACP branch problems and the full staff of the national office will be on a panel for short talks and questions from the delegates on the association's work. Friday morning will consider the topics of legal defense and education, while Saturday morning, as usual, will be the business session for reports of committees and election of members of the nominating committee for the board of directors.

Five Merit Scrolls for outstanding work will be awarded to individuals and

Executive committee members of the Houston, Texas, branch; front row, l. to r.: Mrs. Ora Lee Terry, member of the publicity committee; George S. Goodson, treasurer and finance chairman; Mrs. Constance H. Thompson, member of one of the special conference committees; Sidney Hasgett, third vice-president, and plaintiff in the primary suit; Rev. A. A. Lucas, state and local president; Mrs. Julius White, chairman of the general conference committee and youth council supervisor; and Henry Grayson, secretary and chairman of the publicity committee

Second row: Mrs. Rosie Lee Easter, member of the housing committee; A. W. Jackson, chairman of education; Mabel Kilpatrick, co-chairman of the program committee; N. H. Fitch, co-chairman of membership committee; Mrs. A. L. Cheney, assistant secretary and chairman of the registration committee; Dr. P. W. Beal, youth council supervisor and a member of the general committee; Ethel James, chairman of the program committee, and Dr. L. E. Smith, co-chairman of legal redress

Third row: C. W. Rice, chairman of labor; Ned Weathers, co-chairman of labor; Mrs. P. O. Smith, chairman of entertainment and music; and O. K. Manning, chairman of legal redress and chairman of the information committee, and housing committee member

the Thalheimer prize of $50 will be awarded to the best branch of the association for the past year. Life membership medals will also be awarded.

Spingarn Medal

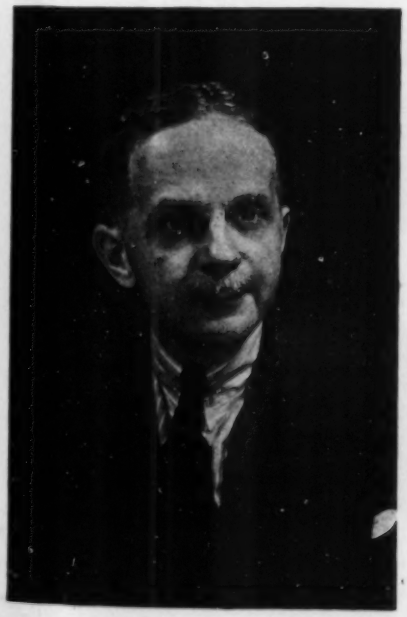
The opening mass meeting Tuesday night, June 24, will have the keynote address of the NAACP delivered by Commissioner Hubert T. Delany, of the Tax Commission of New York City.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, will address the conference Wednesday night on employment of Negroes in national defense industries; while W. Robert Ming, Jr., of the faculty of the Howard university law school, will speak on the Negro in the armed forces.

Thursday night will be Youth night with the principal addresses by President Buell Gallagher of Talladega college, and Madison S. Jones, Jr., youth director of the NAACP.

The 26th Spingarn medal will be presented to Richard Wright on Friday night for his great novel, "Native Son." The closing mass meeting Sunday afternoon will have Walter White, NAACP secretary, as one of the two principal speakers.

A large general committee under the chairmanship of Mrs. Julius White is making all arrangements for the delegates, including entertainment on Saturday, June 28. There will be the regular youth fellowship dinner Thursday evening and the youth dance Friday night.



SECRETARY WALTER WHITE

ELECT DELEGATES FROM YOUR BRANCH TO THE HOUSTON CONFERENCE!

Upper left. Thurgood Marshall, special counsel; top right, Good Hope Baptist church, conference headquarters, at Wilson and Saulnier streets; center, G. S. Goodson, treasurer, Roy Wilkins, editor of The Crisis, Rosa Neyland, president of the youth council, and Rev. A. A. Lucas, president of the branch; below, Sam Houston Coliseum, in the music hall of which the final mass meeting of the conference will be held Sunday afternoon, June 29

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Texas Primary Case To Be Appealed

On May 5, Judge T. M. Kennerly of the United States District Court for the Southern District of Texas, ruled against Sidney Hasgett of Houston, Texas, who had filed suit because he was barred from the Democratic primary in July, 1940.

The case was designed to test the Texas white primary and was prepared and argued by W. J. Durham, Thurgood Marshall, and Carter Wesley for the NAACP.

A reversal had been expected in the lower court and the NAACP attorneys announced that an appeal from the ruling of Judge Kennerly would be taken to the next highest court, the U. S. Court of Appeals.

Attempt to Smother Senate Resolution 75

Opponents of S. R. 75, the resolution designed to investigate the discrimination against Negroes in the national defense program, have attempted to smother consideration of the resolution.

An attempt is being made to drop S. R. 75 and have the investigation it proposes become part of the work of the Truman Committee. This committee is making a general investigation of the defense program, concentrating on alleged favoritism in the awarding of contracts.

The NAACP, which secured the introduction of S. R. 75, believes that if the investigation of discrimination against Negroes is assigned to a general committee, the whole effort will be side-tracked and any benefit to the race lost.

All persons interested in the investigation against the wide spread discrimination against Negroes in all phases of the national defense program are asked to write to Senator Elbert D. Thomas, Chairman of the committee on Education and Labor, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. The letters should urge the Senate Committee on Education and Labor to report S. R. 75 favorably.

F. D. R. Gets Protest On Florida Lynching

The lynching of A. C. Williams by a mob at Quincy, Florida, on May 12, caused the NAACP protest to President Roosevelt, which stated that the lynchers of Williams are rendering aid to the Nazis.

The letter expressed the belief also that the Florida lynching was an additional reason for the enactment of the federal legislation against lynching. The letter went on to say:

"We are concerned with lynching as it relates to the aims of our national defense effort. You have said that every man, woman and child has a stake in this effort. . . . You have pictured the struggle as one to preserve the democratic freedoms against the assault of the forces of oppression, brutality and death.

"In this immense effort our country is weakened morally and physically by the lynchers who kill at their whim, and by officers of the law who make no effort to protect their prisoners or to arrest the lynchers. Into the hands of Virginio Gayda and Paul Joseph Goebbels the Florida mob and all other mobs have thrust the answer to America's protestations and actions in the international conflict.

"A pronouncement from the Chief Executive on this crime would hearten those Americans who abhor lynching and who stand defenseless before the

Wieboldt Studio

Members of the Seminole County, Fla., branch. First row, r. to l.: Rev. N. Wright, McC. Mosely, Mrs. R. E. Strickland, Mrs. Louise Foster, Mrs. Candatha Reed, Mrs. A. E. Knowles, Dr. E. D. Strickland, and David D. James. Second row: Frank Siplin, W. D. Powell, Prof. J. N. Crooms, T. S. Grier, James Foster, Earl E. Williams, John Sims. Third row: D. C. Caldwell, S. D. McGill, Rev. T. D. Davis, President J. W. Knowles, J. A. Lawson, Jr., and A. L. James

Dickerson Studios

Campaign workers of the Richmond, Va., branch at the opening meeting at Leigh St. Methodist church. In the front row, l. to r. are: Roscoe C. Jackson, team captain, L. D. Bolling, secretary, Wiley A. Hall, campaign chairman, and Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president

gibes of those who regard our country's defense philosophy as hypocritical."

D. C. School Named For Joel Spingarn

Joel Elias Spingarn will be the name of the new high school in Washington located at Twenty-fourth street and Benning road it was decided by vote of the District of Columbia board of education Thursday, April 17. Mr. Spingarn, who died in 1939, was for many years president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and donor of the Spingarn medal.

The name for the new school was suggested by Garnet Wilkinson, first assistant superintendent of schools for the District of Columbia.

Florida Teachers' Page Argued in Court

The test case for equalizing the salaries of Florida colored teachers with those of whites was scheduled to be heard the week of May 26.

The case will be argued in Pensacola by S. D. McGill of Jacksonville, and Thurgood Marshall of New York, representing the NAACP. Despite the decisions which have been rendered in other cases and the settlements which have been made elsewhere equalizing salaries, the Escambia county school board has announced that it will fight the case and not attempt to make a settlement.

The complaint sets forth that Mr. McDaniels has been a teacher and a principal in the public school system of Escambia County for more than 13 years. White high school principals, it states, are paid $200 at the start, while McDaniels, after 13 years of teaching, receives only $165.

The court is requested to issue a permanent injunction against the defendents from making any distinction solely on the grounds of race or color in fixing salaries paid to white and colored teachers and principals in the public schools. Violation of the fourteenth amendment is charged.

State Conferences

Muskogee was host to the 7th annual state conference of NAACP branches in Oklahoma, April 24-25.

T. R. Ragsdale had charge of arrangements for the conference. Editor Roscoe Dunjee, president of the state body, conducted the opening mass meeting to which the welcoming address was given by Mayor S. B. Hudson. The principal speeches were given by Bruce Carter, Oklahoma N.Y.A. director, and M. S. Stuart of Memphis, Tenn. Speakers at the closing mass meeting were Roy Wilkins and Madison S. Jones, Jr., of the national office.

Among the topics discussed by the members of the various panels were the wage and hour law, the church and the NAACP, teacher salary differentials, the W. D. Lyons case, civil rights, discrimination in national defense, and several Oklahoma legal cases.

Present were Dr. H. W. Williamston, Idabel; Dr. A. J. Bullock, Chickasha; Amos T. Hall, Tulsa; and T. R. Ragsdale, Muskogee. These men are

the four state regional directors and are responsible for the carrying on of the NAACP program in their areas. President Dunjee reported that Oklahoma now has 41 branches.

The Texas state conference of branches met in Fort Worth, April 25, 26, and 27, and had as guest speaker, April 26, Roy Wilkins of the New York office. Discussions on the Negro and the national defense program and on the Texas white primary case occupied most of the attention of delegates. Branches reported on their quotas toward expenses of the white primary case. Emphasis was put on the 32nd annual conference which will meet in Houston. President Lucas and the same slate of officers were re-elected.

Maryland Conference

The first annual state conference of branches in Maryland met May 24-25 in the Sharp Street Memorial Methodist church in Baltimore. The opening session was greeted by Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, president of the Baltimore branch, and then went into two panel discussions on (a) equal education opportunities for Maryland and (b) employment and wages. At noon there was a testimonial luncheon in honor of George B. Murphy, Sr., treasurer of the joint committee to equalize the salaries of teachers in the counties of Maryland. In the afternoon there were discussions of police brutality and NAACP organizational problems. Speakers during the day included Mr. Murphy, Jesse Nicholas, Dr. J. Leslie Jones, Thurgood Marshall, Edward S. Lewis, Miss Grace Booker, W. A. C. Hughes, and William Pickens. At the closing meeting Sunday afternoon Walter White spoke on the subject, "Does America Want to Be Saved?" A life membership medal was awarded to Local 858 of the International Longshoremen's Union which has paid in full the $500 life membership fee.

Branch News

Alabama: Ethel M. Bryant, a student at the Mobile County training school at Plateau, was the winner of the first prize in the recent popularity contest of the Mobile branch, and was named "Miss Mobile." Miss Bryant raised $35 by soliciting memberships and selling votes. J. L. LeFlore, chairman of the Southern conference of branches and secretary of the Mobile branch, and Rev. A. Ellison, a member of the National Defense Committee of the branch, represented Mobile as members of the Allied Council of Negro Organizations, which met in Washington recently to protest defense discrimination against Negroes. Approximately $100,000,000 worth of defense contracts have been let in the Mobile area, and Negroes are either limited to the most menial employment or not employed at all. Alabama is also systematically barring Negro workers from training for the trades. Mr. LeFlore and Dr. Ellison served on committees appearing before officials in Washington who have control of the national defense program. Mr. LeFlore's group called upon the Office of Production Management, the Office of Education and the Chief of Army Engineers. Dr. Ellison's committee appeared before officials of the Office of Education and the War department.

The Birmingham branch reports a very successful membership campaign resulting in a total of $1,112.50 raised, and a total of 1,041 members.

California: The Needles branch, J. A. Gregory, president, presented E. Frederic Morrow, coordinator of branches, as guest speaker at the mass meeting held in April at the St. James Baptist church.

Colorado: The Denver branch held its annual drive for 500 new members in May. At last report the Red division, headed by Corinne Lowry, led the campaign. Active participants and team leaders in this division were Elizabeth Mayo, John Southall, C. C. Dove, Mrs. W. Quinichette, Capt. Dovie Steward, Mrs Addye Lightner, and Mrs. John Shreyer. Blue division workers included Oscar Blanchard, Edgar Whitman, Oliver Diggs, and Manager Bundy.

Boston, Mass., PANCAS. Seated l. to r.: Mrs. Florence Lewis, Hayes Alexander, Rev. Kenneth Hughes, chairman of the drive, President Ray Guild, Mrs. Miriam De Costa, Mrs. Carolyn Jones, and Mrs. Rebecca Williams. Second row: Mrs. Pearl S. Tyler, Olive Ackiss, Frances Garret, Mrs. Ida L. Wimbish, Mrs. Mabel Snowden, Mrs. Rebecca Adams, Mrs. Nanette Beckett, and Mrs. Cora Schuler. Third row: Oscar H. Fitzallen, Nathaniel Cotton, George T. Sexton, Rev. Wumpter M. Riley, Jr., Mrs. Ruby Agnew, and Frank Hazel

L. I. Duncan Photo

Hartford, Conn., PANCAS. First row, l. to r.: Deloris Swett, Glendora Duggins, Naomi McMillan, Erlene Grega, the Queen PANCA, Miriam Jackson, Hilda Cromwell, and Ada Black. Second row: Riley Johnson, Nancy Bivins, Henrietta Henry, Eugenia Nelson, Kenneth Hickman, Arthur Tyson, and Jerome Lynch. Third row: Percy Christian, Lemuel Hayes, Leroy Harris, Walter Johnson, and Overton Olds, II

H. Brown, Sr. was general campaign manager, and H. Jenkins, Jr. was associate director.

E. Frederic Morrow, of the national office, addressed the open meeting sponsored by the Colorado Springs branch on May 6.

More than 500 persons attended the mass meeting held by the Pueblo branch on May 4. It was one of the best held in many years. E. Frederic Morrow was the principal speaker, and his topic was "The Negro's Place in the War."

Connecticut: Meredith Bloss, public relations director of the public library, addressed the May meeting of the Hartford branch. In April the Hartford branch sponsored a concert by the Virginia State college A Cappella choir, in the high school auditorium. The choir was under the direction of J. Harold Montague.

The Norwalk branch was presented with its new charter on May 9 by Rev. Walter, pastor of the Bethel AME church. Henry Middleton was elected treasurer, and Rudy B. Costa, Jr., became assistant secretary.

More than 100 persons attended the third annual dinner of the Bridgeport branch held in April. Arch St. Naudin J. Oswell, of the New York Housing Authority, was guest speaker.

L. I. Duncan Photo

Junior youth workers of the Hartford, Conn., branch who produced 50 memberships in the campaign; l. to r.: Leroy Harris, Arthur Tyson, Walter Johnson, Jr. and John Moore, Jr.

The Hartford branch campaign which closed in April, and was conducted by Mrs. Daisy F. Lampkin, topped the goal of 750 members. Twenty workers qualified as PANCAS. Mrs. Naomi McMillan, general chairman of the drive, was the highest, having secured 68 memberships totaling $95.50. The branch reported an income of $926.77 from the drive. An interesting feature of the campaign was the participation of four high school boys, ages 16 and 17, who secured more than 50 memberships.

Georgia: The Albany branch closed an energetic and successful campaign in May, with a meeting at the Bethel AME Church. The branch aimed at being the second largest branch in the state. Ethelynne Holmes, secretary of the Atlanta branch, was guest speaker.

Illinois: "The Present War and the Darker Races" was the subject of his talk when Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, eminent author and sociologist of Atlanta university, appeared in April at a meeting under the auspices of the Pathfinders club and the Springfield branch. Chief McClain was the winner of first place honors for the highest number of memberships secured in the recent campaign of the Springfield branch. Mrs. Irene Strange was general chairman of the drive.

Indiana: The membership drive of the Terre Haute branch was held in May. J. C. Rutledge and Mr. H. Walker were chairmen; the captains were Mrs. Ione Sloss, Edith Hodge, Marie Kennedy, Dr. L. H. Anderson, Chester Walker, Culus Luttrell, Grace W. Evans, Mrs. E. M. Rutledge, Charles Merriwether and Charles Scott.

Iowa: Rev. I. C. Fellers, Rev. S. A. Nelson, and Rabbi Bert Klein spoke on "American Democracy" at a recent meeting of the Marshalltown branch. The Nolan children and Ralph Maxwell sang, and group singing was accompanied by Mary Bannon. Attorney S. J. Brown, of Des Moines, was principal speaker in the branch May meeting.

Massachusetts: The Springfield branch held its May meeting in the Town hall at Suffield, Conn., which is part of the territory covered by the branch. Dr. Ralph Harlow of Smith college was guest speaker. The branch conducted a membership drive in May, under the leadership of Mrs Stella Thomas, president.

"The Outlook for Democracy" was the subject of a talk given by Arthur N. Harriman at a recent meeting of the New Bedford branch. Fred D. Bonner presided at the meeting.

The Boston branch, of which Ray W. Guild is president, boasts 1,886 members as a result of its membership campaign, and reports $1,414.00 sent to the national office.

Michigan: A Kalamazoo branch has been organized with Dr. J. T. Woodford as president. Prof. E. M. Barnes and M. S. Birch are vice-presidents. Other officers are: L. R. Pettiford, recording secretary; Mrs. Jesse Graine, corresponding secretary; Benjamin Baggett, treasurer; and James Griffin, Jesse L. Graine, Rev. L. G. Warfield, Miss B. Graine, Grady Murdock, Mrs. Evelyn Jefferies, and A. J. Taborn, members of the executive committee.

Missouri: At the May meeting of the St. Louis branch a report was made on the admittance of a colored girl to the Missouri training school at Marshall to the effect that at the instigation of the branch a number of additional beds for Negroes have been opened up. A report was made on the activities of the branch to get persons to send telegrams to Senator Elbert Thomas urging an investigation of discriminatory practices against Negroes in the national defense program. Delegates elected to attend the Houston, Texas, conference in June, were S. R. Redmond, Mrs. Ruby Blanton, H. D. Espy, Dr. T. A. Curtis, and N. A. Sweet.

New Jersey: The Rahway branch under the presidency of John D. Madden, has extended the work of the branch into Carteret. Seven persons joined at a recent meeting and at their request, a public meeting was held in Carteret in April, with B. M. Nesbet, president of the Elizabeth branch as speaker. At this meeting 23 members were received into the senior branch and 8 in the youth council.

Edward Matthews, noted Negro baritone, was the soloist on May 1, in a recital presented by the Montclair branch at Montclair high school.

The Passaic branch conducted an intensive membership campaign during May in its effort to strengthen the fight against denial of work opportunity in that community and others. The drive began on May 4 with a service at the Bethel AME church followed by an appeal by C. Bragg, president, and the Rev. O. D. Henry.

High ranking teams in the recent Trenton branch membership drive were those under the leadership of Winfield Layton, Jasper Brown, William Dinkens, Ernest Greene, Robert Collins and George Reade.

The annual meeting and dinner of the Paterson branch will be held on June 5 in the large dining-hall of the Paterson Y.M.C.A. The meeting will climax the membership campaign which has been under the leadership of the president, Mrs. M. A. Curtis. Three Paterson teams have been captained by Effie Chance, Mrs. Eva Ellis, and James E. Giles and Wheeler Dancy. Ridgewood teams are led by Ellen Thompson and Grace Perry. Members of the dinner committee are: Mr. and Mrs. B. Hocutt, Dr. A. D. Maxwell, J. E. Giles, Nell Doremus, Mrs. C. Johnson, Constance Dotson, Grace Perry, S. L. Feldman, and Chairmen Clara L. Smith and Ellen Thompson (Bergen county).

New York: The Nassau branch, under the presidency of David B. Adams, was host to the fifth annual meeting of the New York State Conference, at Hempstead, L. I., May 9-11. Headquarters for the conference, where delegates from 22 branches were expected, was the Jackson Memorial A.M.E. Zion church. After a musical on Friday evening, Alfred Baker Lewis spoke on "the Negro and Labor." Speakers scheduled for Saturday were Hon. W. T. Andrews and Daniel L. Burrows, New York assemblymen; Henry W. Pope, of the Welfare Council, N. Y. C.; and Harcourt A. Tynes, Negro historian. Topics covered at the meeting were housing legislation, education, welfare and economic opportunities. Walter White, national executive secretary, was principal speaker on Sunday at the Nassau county police auditorium. The branch is just one year old and has more than 400 members.

The New Rochelle branch sponsored a

recital by Bruce Wendell, well-known piano artist, on May 8. The Tuckahoe and the Mamaroneck branches cooperated in the event.

New Mexico: The Raton branch held a public meeting at the City Hall in May when E. Frederic Morrow was guest speaker. Rev. D. S. Jordan presided and the Mayor of the city extended the welcome.

E. Frederic Morrow was guest speaker at the public meeting sponsored by the Albuquerque branch in May. It was a very successful meeting at which time many prominent persons in the community joined the branch.

Ohio: The Youngstown branch membership campaign is under way from May 26 to June 16, and efforts are being made to enroll the largest number of members in the branch's history. C. H. Nelson and Atty. Howard are co-chairmen, assisted by J. D. Hickman, Maynard Dickerson, Odell Carr, Mrs. Alice Parham, Carrie Thomas, and Mrs. A. C. King. S. S. Booker is president of the branch.

Oregon: "Democracy and the Negro" was the topic of discussion when Wiatt Williams of the Portland branch spoke at the meeting of the council for economic and social research in May.

Pennsylvania: The Central Business Men's Association sponsored a business and educational program at a recent meeting of the Chester branch. Walter C. Beckett, of Germantown, was guest speaker. E. M. Campbell is president of the business men's organization, and Rev. L. S. Moore is president of the branch.

The Bryn Mawr branch opened its membership drive in May and Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, national field secretary, was principal speaker. Roy Wilkins, national assistant secretary and editor of THE CRISIS, was guest speaker at the May 20 meeting. H. C. Nelson and O. B. Cobb were chairman of the drive.

The Altoona branch sponsored a rally at the B. T. Washington Community center, on May 8, to close its membership drive. Committee members responsible for the success of the effort were Dr. George Walker, president, James Dailey, and Mrs. Floyd Washington.

Nearly 1000 persons attended a national defense mass meeting sponsored by the Philadelphia branch in May at Tindley Temple. The Rev. Dr. Daniel A. Poline of Baptist Temple, Walter White, executive secretary, and Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, field secretary, were principal speakers.

Texas: A review of the purpose of the association was given in a recent address of Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary, before the Houston branch. He also spoke on plans for the forth-coming national conference in June when Houston will be host. Rev. A. A. Lucas, president of the branch, has been re-elected president of the Texas state conference of branches, and George S. Goodson, has been re-elected as vice-president.

The El Paso branch mourned in May the passing of the president, L. W. Washington.

Virginia: Ella J. Baker, national field worker, addressed the May meeting of the Petersburg branch at the Elks Home.

Washington: A membership campaign was conducted during May by the Tacoma branch. Members of the committee were Dr. E. E. Elmore, Dr. L. C. Bowling, J. L. Beck, Harold Morris, Mrs. Helen Stafford, Mrs. E. G. McCabe, Mrs. O. Arnette, and Mrs. Nettie J. Asberry, Chairman.

Wisconsin: The Milwaukee branch jointly sponsored with the Workers' Defense League recently, a meeting to enlist support in behalf of Odell Waller, Negro sharecropper condemned to death for shooting his landlord.

West Virginia: The Triadelphia branch held its first business meeting open to the public in May. President of the branch is A. L. Coleman.

Leon Miller addressed the Charleston branch in May at the First Baptist church under the auspices of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity at W. Va. State College.

N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council News

Paine College Forum

The Paine College chapter joined with the Augusta Negro Civic and Business League in conducting an interracial forum on "The Negro's Position in the National Defense Program."

The Paine College chapter participated in National Negro Youth Week celebration by carrying out an extensive program, and plans for increasing the integration of the Negro in the national defense activities in their particular section of the South. Dr. Nelson C. Jackson, director of community organization work in the Atlanta School of Social Work, was the main speaker in the concluding forum.

All phases of Negroes' participation in the national defense program were discussed. Non-military jobs, jobs in defense industries, training for these jobs, service in the military forces, were some of the topics.

One of the outstanding features of the National Negro Youth Week celebration was the presentation of the NAACP drama, "Place: America," with a cast of 30 students, by Youth Council and College Chapter members. The play was received in the church chapel on Saturday night with a tremendous ovation.

Michigan Conference

The president of the Michigan State Conference of Youth Councils, Charles S. Harris, announced the quarterly conference of youth leaders at Benton Harbor, Michigan, May 17 and 18.

The conference discussed ways and means of building a better state conference of youth councils, how to finance local state councils, problems of youth councils, and youth in the national defense. An especially large delegation from the Michigan group intends to plan for the youth section of the annual conference in Houston, June 24 to 29. The high-light of the conference was a debate between Detroit and Benton

Officers of the Springfield, Mass., youth council; l. to r.: Jeff McAlpine, vice-president, Juanita Fletcher, recording secretary, Mary E. Cannon, treasurer, Olive Rainey, advisor, Agnes Hardy, president, Elizabeth Jackson, corresponding secretary, and David Carroll, financial secretary

Harbor, on the subject "Resolved that the C.I.O. is beneficial to the Negro." The conference will also lay plans for taking at least 60 youth delegations from Michigan to Houston.

N. Y. A. Survey

Miss Carolyn Davenport, director of the youth department of the Pennsylvania State Conference of Branches, has announced that the Youth Councils in the entire state are busily engaged in making a complete survey of the N.Y.A. situation. The investigation will be concerned mainly in defense work and the possibility of increased integration of the Negro in such opportunities. As soon as this report is finished, it will be sent to the National Office in order that other interested local and state groups may refer to it, and have techniques for making a survey and in planning action.

The conference is also planning to establish a youth council in Pottstown and other communities where there are no councils. The work of the group will be concluded for the year with their dance by the Eastern District State Leaders, in Philadelphia, June 6. Proceeds will be used to carry on more extensive programs to increase opportunities for youth in national defense work.

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NAACP

I see by the papers
Where the NAACP
Is meeting down in Houston
And I'd like to be there to see
What they intend to do
In these trying times today
Cause we need to take some solid steps
To drive Jim Crow away.
We need a delegation to
Go see the President
And tell him from the shoulder
Just why we are sent:
Tell him we've heard his speeches
About Democracy—
But to enjoy what he's talking about
What color must you be?
I'm cook or dishwasher in the navy.
In the Marines I can't be either.
The Army still segregates me—
And we ain't run by Hitler neither!
The Jim Crow car's still dirty.
The color line's still drawn.
Yet up there in Washington
They're blowing freedom's horn!
The NAACP meets in Houston.
Folks, turn out in force!
We got to take some drastic steps
To break old Jim Crow's course.

BY LANGSTON HUGHES

BOOK NEWS and REVIEWS

FLEEING FOR FREEDOM

***LET MY PEOPLE GO* (The Story of the Underground Railroad and the Growth of the Abolition Movement). By Henrietta Buckmaster. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941. XII + 398 pp. Illustrated. $3.50.**

Popular fancy has created the still persistent myth of the Uncle Tom, the humble, docile darky who took as eagerly to servitude as a Hollywood press agent to ballyhoo or a politician to mendacity. Hence when an occasional slave did flee the plantation or was discovered deep in conspiracy for rebellion, apologists for the institution either blandly explained that the Negro was ludicrously ignorant of his own good, since submissiveness was one of the mystical qualities of his African nature, or that the "nigger was drunk" and didn't know what he was really doing. It even came to be regarded as anomalous that a slave should want his freedom. Nothing, of course, could be further from the truth.

For popular myths to the contrary, the Negro did not eagerly embrace servitude; he exhibited none of the qualities of a "born slave," and revolted whenever he had the opportunity. The suicides, self-mutilations, revolts and rebellions, conspiracies, and *marronage* all prove that the Negro did not take docilely to servitude. That their masters realized this is proved by the black codes, fugitive slave laws, "nigger catchers," "bush captains," and the sadistic punishments meted out to the recalcitrants. "How can the statement of docility," questions Miss Buckmaster, "be reconciled to the two hundred known revolts and conspiracies of over two hundred years, as revealed by the newspapers and the law courts of the South?" Only sixty-eight years elapsed between the introduction of Negroes into Virginia and the first recorded slave revolt. And the attempts at revolt were numerous.

Very little, however, is said about them by conventional historians writing conventional history; they almost completely ignore this side of the "patriarchal institution." So effective has been this propaganda of the docile slave that even today the majority of literate, intelligent Negroes believe it. And so firmly rooted in the American mind is the belief that

leaders of slave revolts were "bad niggers" that to my knowledge no Negro dares even suggest that his segregated school be named after a Turner, Prosser, or Vesey.

Probably Miss Buckmaster's book will do much to correct this view. For she has, with fine critical ability, intense moral fervor, and a scholarly industry that has led her to examine court records, old newspapers and letters, and fugitive tales, reconstructed the moving drama of daring escapes and sacrifices which were the Underground Railroad. She has reconstructed the story in such detail that many of the traditional views about the "railroad" and slavery can no longer be accepted. First of all, it should be noted that she really describes the history of two parallel movements: the "railroad" and the abolition crusade. The "railroad" was probably an inevitable offshoot of the abolition crusade. Practical application of abolitionist doctrine would have resulted sooner or later in actual assistance to runaways—and this is just what finally happened.

It was abolitionist sentiment that finally led to the organization of the Underground Railroad. The "railroad" first took organized shape in the many vigilance committees of the principal northern cities. Groups of whites and Negroes would help the runaways to find temporary haven in their trek north, supply them with clothes and food, transportation, and when necessary legal aid. Such aid was often a risky business, especially in those cities and towns where the abolitionists were none too well-liked themselves. And the runaways themselves faced the constant danger of kidnapping, which had been further enhanced by the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. The name for the institution came from southern slaveholders who when questioned about their runaways would reply that they "must have gone on an underground railroad." Miss Buckmaster admits frankly that when she first read about the "railroad" as a child she "never questioned the fact that it burrowed under fields and pastures." Yet it did burrow in both a literal and a figurative sense under law and custom and established American sentiment.

One little known fact which the author brings out is Taney's early attitude toward slavery. "When the Reverend Mr. Gruber, a Methodist minister of Maryland, preached a sermon against slavery, supporting his words by quoting from the Declaration of Independence, he was arrested and tried for inciting insurrection." His attorney was a young lawyer who later became Chief Justice Taney; young Taney defended his client in these words: "Slavery is a blot upon our national character, and every real lover of freedom confidentially hopes that it will be effectually wiped away."

Miss Buckmaster integrates into her picture thumbnail sketches of Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Stowe, Parker, Garrison, Lundy, Lovejoy, and others. She has revived a fascinating period in American history with its bitter, often bloody struggles, its zealots and fanatics, and its self-sacrificing heroes and heroines. Her story makes diverting and refreshing reading and helps to correct a point of view about slavery and the abolitionist movement. My only quarrel with her is that she says little about the role of the free Negro in the "railroad" and gives a mass base to a movement sponsored largely by freedom-loving zealots.

JAMES W. IVY

FREDERICK DOUGLASS REDIVIVUS

***LIFE AND TIMES OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS* written by himself. Published for the Frederick Douglass Historical and Cultural League, in preparation for the One Hundredth Anniversary of Douglass' first Appearance in the Cause of Emancipation. New York: Pathway Press, 1941. Foreword by Dr. Alain Locke. XXX + 695pp. $5.00. Illustrated.**

This is the second reprint of the Frederick Douglass Historical and Cultural League; the first was a reprint of Douglass' oration delivered at the unveiling of the Freedman's Monument in Memory of Abraham Lincoln (reviewed in CRISIS, June 1940). Though not the first autobiography written by an ex-slave, Douglass' narrative is yet by far the best written and the most intelligent presentation of the life, struggles, and growth of a great ex-slave Negro leader. Douglass' autobiography is really made up of two separate narratives: the first, *Life and Times*, was written in 1845, or at least published in that year; while the second half of what is now known as his autobiography appeared in 1855 under the title of *My Bondage and My Freedom*.

Considered by many as the greatest leader produced by the American Negro the many-sided Douglass, for he was editor, politician, orator, diplomat, and abolitionist, probably saw deeper into the real nature of the Negro problem in America than most of his successors. Douglass' view of the plight of his people was never narrowly racial. He always realized that problems of race were merely facets in the many-sided problems of minorities everywhere. This is why he was always willing to lend his tongue and pen to the championship of woman suffrage, land and labor reforms in England and Ireland, and other unpopular causes.

The main outlines of Douglass' life are, of course, now well known. His real name was actually Frederick Augustus Bailey and it was not until after his escape from slavery that he assumed the name of Douglass. His mother was Harriet Bailey and his father an unknown white man. Douglass was born in Tuckahoe, Talbot County, Maryland, the slave of Captain Aaron Anthony. For the first five or six years of his life he was cared for by his grandmother. His early years were especially harsh, but it seems that his master's daughter Lucretia Auld was very kind to him. In Baltimore his new mistress Sophia Auld, taught him how to spell and read. He also received some instruction from the school boys in the streets of that city. In Baltimore Douglass worked in his master's shipyards spinning oakum, turning the grindstones, and keeping up the fires under the pitch boilers. After a brief stay on the farm of Edward Covey, Douglass again returned to Baltimore where he worked for Hugh Auld, his master's brother, learning how to caulk vessels. He also helped in the fitting out of whaling ships.

After his escape from slavery, he devoted most of his time to delivering anti-slavery lectures. He was employed by the Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut Anti-Slavery Societies as a lecturer in the cause of freedom. To escape possible recapture he traveled in Europe until 1847 until Mrs. and Miss Richardson paid the necessary one hundred and fifty pounds for his freedom. For

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this he was bitterly criticized. In Rochester after his return to the States he published the *North Star* and then *Frederick Douglass' Paper*. In 1859 he was indicted along with John Brown for the raid on Harper's Ferry; and again Douglass fled to England via Canada. During the Civil War he helped to organize the 54th and 55th Massachusett's regiments. He also had several conferences with Lincoln in regard to arming the slaves. After the War he became a noted platform lecturer and public official. In 1871 he was one of the commissioners sent by President Grant to study conditions in Santo Domingo. He was also a member of the governing body of the District of Columbia, a marshall for the District, a recorder of deeds, an elector from New York, and a minister to Haiti.

Douglass' first wife, by whom he had five children, was Anna Murray, a free woman; his second was Helen Pitts, a white woman. His second marriage caused much criticism which Douglass laughed off in the witticism: "In my first marriage I paid a compliment to my mother's race; in my second, to my father's."

As Dr. Locke remarks in his Foreword: "Obviously there is much in Douglass, both of word and deed, which is vital and relevant to this present generation and to our world of today. Racially and nationally we still need the effective re-enforcement of his career and personality. Youth, in its time of stress and testing crisis, needs and can benefit by the inspiring example of a crusading and uncompromising equalitarian."

JAMES W. IVY

LAUNDERED DENIMS

***GROWING UP IN THE BLACK BELT:* Negro Youth in the Rural South. By Charles S. Johnson. Prepared for the American Youth Commission. Washington: American Council on Education, 1941. XVIII + 360 pp. $2.25.**

This is one of the volumes in a series now being published by the American Youth Commission. Previously published volumes are *Children of Bondage*, *In a Minor Key*, and *Negro Youth at the Crossways*. The aim of the series is to study the personality development of Negro youth. I have read all of the published volumes in the series and I must now reluctantly report that these ponderations simply report the obvious. That Negro youth suffers cruelly from the restrictions of American caste may be news to white America, but it is more than a twice-told tale to Negro youth and thoughtful Aframericans. It is perhaps a good sign when white Americans begin to evince interest in Negro personality development and to delegate Negro scholars to do the investigating.

Dr. Johnson devotes his attention to the personality development of Negro youth in the rural black belts of the South. He selected eight counties as typical of the area and then studied 2,000 Negro youths in these counties. Their personality development was measured against the two yardsticks of economic insecurity and race relations. Their relation to the school, the church, the family, and recreation was also studied.

"The type of problem encountered by Negro youth," writes the author, "of different social classes differs considerably. In the lower classes the problems are those of poverty, economic deprivation, poor living conditions, and a very unstable family organization. In the upper classes these are not the common problems. As other sections of this study indicate, upper-class youth, freed of the family and economic difficulties encountered by youth at lower social levels, are more acutely conscious of difficulties in the spheres of race relations, education, sex and marriage, and social relations within the Negro group."

Negro schools in the black belt are inadequate and shabby and their teachers poorly trained. "A traditional, lifeless curriculum; the harsh, unintelligent disciplinary punishment; and the emphasis upon rote learning must share the blame with poverty for excessive retardation, and for the unrest and dissatisfaction of Negro youth." Teachers are trying to teach an appreciation of a cultural heritage about which they themselves know nothing. Nor have the teachers any awareness of the rural problems of their pupils and patrons. See pages 104 and 105 for a representative sample of the type of instruction to which rural blackbelt pupils must submit.

Though Negro rural youth is for the most part critical of the ministers, the emotional hold of the church is still strong. "The church has been, and continues to be, the outstanding social institution in the Negro community." Part explanation for this hold of the church is of course historical. "Its greatest present value appears to be that of providing emotional relief for the fixed problems of a hard life." As one woman put it, "It just seems like I can stand my worries better when I go to church." Although the church furnishes a spiritual anchor, it is yet a socially retarding force in the Negro community because of its conservatism and reaction. Most rural Negro youth is now torn between loyalty to the church and loyalty to the school and commercial recreations.

Among the lower classes the Negro family is usually a matriarchy. "Victorian regulation is the exception rather than the rule in rural Negro families. Most of the youth interviewed enjoyed considerable freedom, although parents attempt to keep the children, especially the girls, from getting in trouble. In lower-class families the adolescent is relatively unsupervised." Sex standards judged by conventional middle-class American notions are relatively low. Sexual promiscuity is common and sex experiences with the opposite sex usually begin at a relatively early age. In recent years, however, the trend is towards stricter sex standards and "a more stable family life." Much of the improvement is largely verbal and does not carry over into action. "In expressing marital preferences, boys are as much concerned about the behavior as about the personal appearance of their future wives." Girls in the lower classes are in revolt against common-law marriage and desertion, large families, and shiftless husbands. Upper-class girls express a preference for educated, professional men as husbands.

Organized recreation in the black belt is non-existent. Swimming, boxing, dancing, commercial amusements, and the "dozens" seem to be the chief play outlets. "The undisciplined impulses of rural youth find expression in a variety of activities, the most disturbing of which are those that, in an urban setting, would be classified under juvenile delinquency. Legally, there is little juvenile delinquency in the rural areas and among the youth studied. There is a significant difference in rural and urban areas in what constitutes delinquency which is punishable by law."

Other problems studied by Dr. Johnson are intrarace attitudes, color and status, and relations with whites. Race pride is very weak among lower-class Negroes but rather intense among the educated classes. Urban youth, as would be expected, exhibits more race pride than rural youth. In the matter of color and status the youth is inclined to associate blackness with negative judgments. "Differences in complexion and hair create problems of adjustment, but do not mark class lines within the rural Negro group." Relations with whites vary with the Negro class involved. Upper-class youth has relatively less contact with whites than lower-class youth. And urban youth less contact than rural youth. "There is a difference, however, in that the urban youth's feeling toward whites is likely to be one of indifference, while the village youth's feelings are complicated by the conflict of personal observations and community stereotypes."

Under the stresses of classes within a race, and a race within a nation, the Negro youth therefore develops. "In spite of brave talk and wishful thinking of many of the youth, there was in their comments a pervasive strain of resignation and futility." The Negro child must learn not only to live in his own world and like it, but he must find some zest in the very necessity of conforming to the conditions imposed upon him by a more exclusive social order, an order which insists on treating him, in some senses, and to some degree, as an alien."

JAMES W. IVY

BOOK BITS

General Nemours announces the publication of an English version of his *Histoire de la famille et de la descendance de Toussaint-Louverture* (*History of the Family and Descendants of Toussaint-Louverture*). The volume is published by the Imprimerie de l'Etat, Rue du Centre, of Port-au-Prince, 1941. The price is the same as that of the French original, one dollar. The volume may be ordered direct from the author, Port-au-Prince. These two paragraphs from the first chapter will give the prospective buyer some idea of the style and tone of the book:

Toussaint Louverture was the son of Gaou-Guinou, himself the son of the chieftain of the Aradas. The kingdom of the Aradas was situated on the Coast of Slaves, which was part of the Gold Coast.

Gaou-Guinou was probably made prisoner in one of the numerous battles fought by African kings amongst themselves, and brought away as a slave. He was sold to Count de Noé who owned the Breda plantation in the Haut du Cap region, a dependence of the Cap parish. It had kept, and still keeps, its name of Breda after that of its first owner. From his marriage with Pauline, a baptized negress of the same plantation, Gaou-Guinou had several children: Toussaint Louverture, Paul, Pierre, Jean, Marie-Jeanne, who married the French colonel Claude Martin. With the exception of Jean, who died in infancy, the three sons all achieved high situations: Paul was brigadier-general in the French army, Pierre a colonel in the Spanish army. The most brilliant and tragic career was reserved for Toussaint. First and only Governor of the Island, organiser of the first Independent Nation in the New-World and of the only Independent Black Republic, he died as a martyr for the redemption and restoration of his race.

The translation seems to have been made by someone with an inadequate knowledge of English, yet the book is readable.

* * *

Panama's denationalization of some 90,000 persons, most of whom are Negroes, through the retroactive provisions of her new constitution, a direct result of the doctrine of race hatred preached by her president, Arnulfo Arias, reminds us of the realistic novel describing race prejudice in modern Panama, *Canal Zone: Los Yanquis en Panamá* (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Ercilla, 1935), by D. Aguilera Malta. Malta is a young Ecuadorian novelist who selects his material for

its dramatic and social significance. He dedicates *Canal Zone* to the Negroes of Chorrillo and Calidonia, names of Negro ghettoes of Panama City, and American sailors. The story is that of the Negro Pedro Coorsi, the offspring of a Greek dredger and a Negro woman, who despite his education can get no job except that of a procurer for Tommie's place, one of the many *cantinas* which cater largely to tourists and American sailors. The theme, the real theme, of the novel, dinted with bold strokes, is the moral degradation which has settled upon Panama as a result of the opening of the Canal. The tragedies of the lower depths, the anguish of good Panamanians at seeing their country trampled upon in sacrifice to the commercial and defensive necessities of a powerful nation, and the enforced depravity of many Negroes are bitterly and brutally depicted in this novel. Panama dances to "Yankee music with an African accent."

* * *

Lovers of Negro folklore are again reminded of the rich mine which is Romulo Lachateñere's *¡Oh, Mío Yemayá! Cuentos y Cantos Negros* published by La Moderna Poesia of Habana.

JAMES W. IVY

Poll Tax

(*Continued from page* 192)

electors? And what does he mean by *the people?*

Another argument against the abolition of the poll tax is that it benefits the schools. The school tie-up with the poll tax is another argument which has no basis in fact. George C. Stoney points out in his article "Suffrage in the South," which appeared in *Survey Graphic* for January, 1940:

"Most southerners are very sensitive about the poor ratings their educational system have. Though a larger proportion of the income is allotted for education in the South than in most northern states, the total income is pitifully small. By giving money raised through poll taxes to education, the politicians have anchored it into the very heart of the South's progressive people. Yet the poll tax, as a revenue producer, is a flop. The only place where it produces any significant amount is in New England, where it is not a requisite for voting but is levied on all adults as a regular system of taxation. . . .

"Arkansas raises only 5 per cent of her total school budget by the poll tax, a tax that keeps a good 80 per cent of her adult citizens from voting."

Still a third argument against the abolition of the poll tax is that it would make for Negro domination of politics in those states and districts where Negroes outnumber whites. A number of daily newspapers that favor the abolition of the tax in order to increase the white electorate go to great length to show how this has not happened in the states where the tax has been repealed.

The Thomasville, Ga., *Press,* said editorially March 15, 1940:

"A stock argument against removing the poll tax is that it would throw the balance of power to the Negro voter. As one subscriber of this paper recently said, 'On ethical and legal grounds I believe in discarding the poll tax, but for reasons of expediency I think it should be continued.'

"In other words, from a logical and just viewpoint the Negro should be allowed to vote, but from a selfish viewpoint he should be disfranchised. But this attitude is understandable. It goes back to the hectic years after the Civil War, when untutored Negroes did violate the sanctity of the ballot. However, under existing conditions this reason is not valid.

"Only in Mississippi does the Negro outnumber the white man, and the next census may show this to be changed. Furthermore, in those states that have abandoned the poll tax the Negro has demonstrated a remarkable inaptitude for voting. In Louisiana less than one per cent of the Negroes vote. In North Carolina the record is about the same. Other states that dropped the poll tax found that Negroes showed a minute increase, while the white vote rose astoundingly."

While not subscribing wholly to this idea the writer believes that the removal of the restrictions on the ballot will be a gain to the Negroes in more ways than one no matter how this removal is accomplished. Just as placing the poll tax restriction on the ballot disfranchised many whites so will its removal enfranchise many Negroes.

The Omnipotent Registrars

Any demand for the abolition of the poll tax is made with full cognizance of the fact that the poll tax is "only a fence" (a high fence) around the powerful registration boards whose decisions possess a degree of finality which are hard to duplicate.

The following is an excerpt from an Associated Press release which appeared in the Birmingham, Ala., *News* for April 2, 1935: "Louisiana and Mississippi require persons registering to interpret any portion of the constitution the registrar may put his finger upon. In the case of Negroes, the registrar is hard to satisfy." Ralph J. Bunche writing in *Opportunity* for December, 1928, makes the following statement with regard to registration in Alabama: "A Negro, no matter how prominent or how well qualified, must, in order to register, 'fetch' a note of recommendation from some responsible white person! (or irresponsible, it matters little, since all white persons would be

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READ AND ACT

The National Negro Insurance Association reported for 1940:

—Assets of $23,470,225.63
—Income of $14,297,920.38
—Insurance in force: $303,972,207.58
—Policies in force: 1,826,647
—Employment: 10,000 Negroes

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reputable where any Negro is concerned there).

John Temple Graves II says in his syndicated column "This Morning" which appeared in the Birmingham, *Age-Herald* for May 24, 1940: "Whatever limitations need to be made or are determined to be made upon Negro voting can be accomplished as well by way of the educational test as by the poll tax, as plentiful experience shows. The poll tax does not maintain 'white supremacy' in the South. It maintains the supremacy of some white men over others."

Bulwark Against Reform

The South has suffered as has no other region from reactionary legislation and a denial of justice to its people. The poll tax remains one of the great bulwarks against reform. To mention the poll tax, a political device, is to call to mind its counterpart in the social and economic conditions which prevail in the southern states. To mention this tax is to call forth a picture such as was enacted in England, Arkansas, in 1931 when the population of this "sharecropper" community witnessed a food riot. A band of hungry sharecroppers and tenant farmers looted the shelves of the neighborhood store. "These men were not criminals. They were sharecroppers." They were a group of people without a voice in their government.

To mention the poll tax is to think of an astoundingly high rate of illiteracy. But could one expect to find literacy when the landlord insists that the children be taken out of school to plow? When the average school term is 123 days a year? When the teachers are paid less than relief workers? When many children are too poor to go to school because of insufficient clothing?

The counterpart of the poll tax is seen in lynching, poor housing, ill health, rundown streets, slum areas, an absence of parks and playgrounds, poverty, juvenile delinquency,—in short a people robbed of their self-respect—an exploited group resigned to the inevitable, but not without having first become a bitter and disgruntled group.

Police brutality is a direct outgrowth of the denial of the ballot to the Negro. The Montgomery *Advertiser* of April 4, 1940, made the following editorial comment:

"The Advertiser for one is not willing to see a handful of police officers bring grief to our citizens by wantonly abusing and humiliating people of color (only because people of color do not vote their strength in our elections)."

If for no other reason than that of curbing these wanton acts by officers of the law the poll tax should be repealed.

"The South," says the Georgia-born author, Erskine Caldwell,* "is willing to be reactionary, and indeed anxious to be as long as reaction is a method of justifying sharecropping as an institution.

"The Reactionary movement in the South finds its most apparent fruition in politics. The combination of political reaction and sharecropping has produced what is perhaps the most colorful collection of rabblerousers in modern history. The southern politician learns almost from the cradle what the landlords want and what they will pay to have their wants catered to. When that has been learned, it does not take him long to find out what it takes to get the tenant farmer's vote.

"From the most insignificant county office through the governorship, the political campaign hinges almost entirely on a man's ability to win votes by stirring up the sympathies and prejudices of primitive people. Many a sheriff has been elected to office on the statement that he alone among all the candidates can by means of intimidation keep the Negroes from raping the wives and daughters of the voters."*

We could go on enumerating the problems which are common to the South but in order to get a fair picture one has only to realize that all the things which contributed to giving the South the title of the nation's economic problem No. 1 are intensified in the poll tax states.

Today the united efforts of all the people North and South are needed in this fight for democracy. To this end the Southern Negro Youth Congress, The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and The League of Young Southerners are launching a gigantic campaign to spotlight the areas where democracy is furthest from being realized. Nation-wide observance of May 11-17 as Anti-Poll Tax Week is but one of the activities designed eventually to wipe out the tax.

Pass your copy of The Crisis on to a friend

* Caldwell, Erskine, and Bourke-White, Margaret. *You Have Seen Their Faces.* New York: The Viking Press.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

Responding to frequent inquiries, THE CRISIS carries herewith the names and addresses with telephone numbers of some of the 1300 colored attorneys in the United States, purely as a service to those seeking such information. THE CRISIS does not maintain a legal bureau, as many readers seem to think, and the N.A.A.C.P. concerns itself only with cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizenship rights. Lawyers whose names do not appear below are requested to write to THE CRISIS.

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Need for Heroes

(*Continued from page* 185)

We need in our books those who have known the day-after-day heroism of work and struggle and the facing of drudgery and insult that some son or daughter might get through school and acquire the knowledge that leads to a better life where opportunities are brighter and work is less drab, less humiliating, and less hard—*yet for us that work was done.* We need in our books those who have lived through the days when even to move into a decent house outside the black sums in Detroit or Cleveland or Chicago was to bring out the mob, stones through the windows, bullets, and danger of death —*yet we moved into those houses.* We need in our books today the fourteen sailors *dishonorably* discharged from the United States Navy for trying to bring a little decency into the relations on shipboard between whites and Negroes—*yet those fourteen sailors spoke out unafraid.* Their example will not be forgotten a hundred years hence.

We know we are not weak, ignorant, frustrated, or cowed. We know the race has its heroes whether anybody puts them into books or not. We know we are heroes ourselves and can make a better world. Someday there will be many books and plays and songs that say that. Today there are strangely few. Negro literature has a need for heroes. Then it will come alive, speak, sing, and flame with meaning for the Negro people.

Haiti

(*Continued from page* 186)

United States should recognize Haiti, by sending only "white" Negroes to represent the country in Washington. And southern sensibilities could be spared by forbidding all Haitians who might visit the States from traveling below the Potomac. Haiti was excluded from the Congress of Panama primarily because of the question of race and Haitian independence. This thread of race runs through all Haitian-American relations even when the issues are economic, commercial, or political.

Our Present Policy

Our present Haitian policy has been coalesced with our general Caribbean policy. This policy is to dominate the area to the extent deemed necessary to prevent its domination by any other strong power. The fact that the eastern gateway to Panama and the Gulf of Mexico lie in the West Indies, and that Haiti lies in the very center of the Windward Passage, makes Haiti of strategic importance in our naval policies in that area. Though nominally independent since the withdrawal of American Marines, Haiti is still a sort of ward of the United States. Though the "good neighbor" policy of President Roosevelt will possibly prevent any direct military intervention, there can be no assurance that the United States will not continue to tighten its economic control of the island. The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 was purely defensive in its original setting, yet contemporary interpretation of the Doctrine, "une fausse application de la doctrine de Monroe," as the Haitian Furcy-Chatelain puts it, constitutes one of the chief dangers for Haiti and the other small countries of the Caribbean.

Whatever the future holds for Haiti in her relations with the United States cannot, of course, be foreseen; but a warm friend of that country has incisively shown in this book what those relations have been in the past. Dr. Logan has added to his book one of the most complete bibliographies of the general history of Haiti published for the period since 1789. The book is also enlivened by illuminating footnotes.

Dividends

(*Continued from page* 191)

Negroes have become regular participants.

The case of D. G. Murray and the University of Maryland is familiar. Now the state university that refused in 1890 to let Negroes continue in attendance, opens its doors to them. Nor is this the only case of its kind, and one is reminded of the several successes of the NAACP in obtaining equal salaries for teachers. The effectiveness of their effort is encouraging. In 1938 the supreme court forbade Kentucky to exclude Negroes from jury lists. In the ten years immediately following the World war the number of Negro college graduates exceeded eight thousand. The latter may be used for economic as well as cultural or educational comparison of gains. Still other parallels might be drawn of the Negro before and after the World War.

It is evident that victory in the last war gave impetus to our development, permitted the democratic process to continue to advance, and enabled us to obtain greater participation in democracy, while our latest victories give us added assurance for the future. Therefore, in victory for world democracy, it seems not vain to hope that the Negro will be enabled to enjoy greater participation therein, and that it will be a bit less likely that his effort will beat its wings out upon iron bars.

Next Month

"One Friday Morning"

A Story by
LANGSTON HUGHES

The August issue will be the 30th annual education number with news and pictures of college graduates.

A Prayer For Peace

O Lord, through all this strife and bloody war,
Protect a liberty we've fought to save,
Forever grant us that this flag may wave
As freedom's symbol on our peaceful shore.
We want no shattering bomb, no screaming shell
To rip apart the peace we've reached at last,
We want no fire-spitting guns to blast
Our fertile plains into a raging hell.

They are not strong because of blood they shed,
They are not brave because they laugh at fate,
Nor heroes while they parry hate with hate.
Like some mute sheep, they go where they are led.
Soon peace would come if they would trust in you,
Forgive them Lord, they know not what they do.

—Marie Sinkler

Soliloquy

To be this way
Until I die,
Mouth full o' laugh
Heart full o' cry,
Or dare to be
A man for once,
Bravely to die
Than live a dunce.

—By Arthur L. Drayton